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Policy movement through the lens of postcolonial feminism, policy transfer, and policy translation
the case of gender mainstreaming in Thailand

Policy movement through the lens of postcolonial feminism, policy transfer, and policy translation: The case of gender mainstreaming in Thailand

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Abstract

Gender mainstreaming as a global policy paradigm has been "universally" accepted as a revolutionary strategy to achieve gender equality since the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. This "global" policy has been moved across scales over country boundaries, and political and social entities. Thailand, situated in the Global South, adopted and introduced gender mainstreaming into its institutions; however, how this notion has been moved and the subsequent impacts have been under-researched. Therefore, this study aims to examine the movement process of gender mainstreaming across the Thai national boundary and into implementation settings by investigating the only official policy on gender mainstreaming: the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 on the establishment of the Chief Gender Equality Officers (CGEOs) and Gender Focal Points (GFPs) in departments and ministries, and the subsequent implementation of this policy. The innovative tripartite conceptual framework consisting of postcolonial feminism, policy transfer, and policy translation is applied as complementary analytical lens for this study. A multi-scalar qualitative approach is adopted drawing on documentary research and semi-structured interviews with 30 policy actors from across international, regional, national, and implementation scales.

This study finds that "universal" gender mainstreaming policy is not a definitive homogeneous solution, which can be immediately applied to all diverse settings. This is because the movement is complex and contingency includes the multifaceted layers of explicit and implicit meanings held by policy actors; the multi-scalar and multiple policy actors who interact under the dynamics and asymmetry of power relations and gender hierarchies; the unfinished process which is operated under interpretation, negotiation, reinterpretation; and the destination setting as active recipients. This complexity and contingency lead to a transformation, friction, and the disjuncture of gender mainstreaming at different scales of its movement. This study argues that the movement of gender mainstreaming should not be perceived simply as a linear process, but that the focus must be placed on the multifaceted policy meanings, multiple policy actors, multi-scalar connectivity, with consideration of the gender and

power relations and the particularity of social, political, and historical factors entrenched in the new settings. The study also provides theoretical reflection to de/re-conceptualise the notion of gender mainstreaming through a policy discourse approach; to engage multiple and multi-scalar policy actors through inclusive collaboration; and to be aware of the diverse and unique settings through a bottom-up approach. These approaches together with a more nuanced understanding of the processes involved in gender mainstreaming movement would strengthen the envisioned transformative change and tackle gender inequality on the ground.

Dedication

To those who have strived for advancing women's rights and gender equality. Their endeavours have liberated the lives of millions people, particularly women who have been oppressed by patriarchy.

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Author’s declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

ACW	ASEAN Committee on Women
ACWC	ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children
ASEAN	Association of South East Asia Nations
BDPA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CGEO	Chief Gender Equality Officer
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DWF	Department of Women's Affairs and Family Development
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECE	Economic Commission for Europe
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
EU	European Union
FOW	Friends of Women Foundation
GAD	Gender and Development
GFP	Gender Focal Point
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
ILO	International Labour Organization
IWNI	Indigenous Women's Network of Thailand
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendered, Intersex
NCPCWA	National Commission on Policy and Strategy for the Improvement of the Status of Women
NCWA	National Commission on the Promotion and Coordination of Women's Affairs
NESDB	National Economics and Social Development Board
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission of Thailand

NLA	National Legislative Assembly
NWM	National Women's Machinery
OCSC	Office of the Civil Service Commission
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONCWA	Office of the National Commission on the Promotion and Coordination of Women's Affairs
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
OWF	Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development
RTG	Royal Thai Government
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SIDA	Swedish International Cooperation Agency (SIDA)
SoC	Secretariat to the Cabinet
UN	United Nations
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
UNAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
WID	Women in Development
WYSP	Woman and Youth Studies Project

Chapter 1
Introduction

Gender mainstreaming is defined by international organisations as a process which involves the integration of gender dimensions through the considerations of the experience, knowledge and interests of women and men into an account of all policies, legislation, and organisational activities to achieving gender equality (ECOSOC 1997; OSAGI, 2002; UN Women 2018). This notion is a landmark for the global feminist movement in bringing a gender lens onto the international policy arena with a high aspiration that gender mainstreaming can transform asymmetric gender relations in world politics (Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2000; Verloo, 2001; Tiessen, 2007). Gender mainstreaming has been formalised in the global policy architecture as a strategy for achieving gender equality through the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPA) at the Fourth United Nations Conference on Women in 1995 endorsed by 189 UN member states (UN Women, 2018a).

Since then, gender mainstreaming has gained momentum and traveled across countries, via policy actors, and through organisations over differing times and scales (Verloo, 2005; Payne 2014). International and intergovernmental agencies as well as regional and national entities have widely embraced gender mainstreaming into their policy settings from initial planning, to implementing and monitoring in various policy domains, such as education, employment, and poverty eradication (ECOSOC 2010; 2015). For example, the UN appointed an Assistant Secretary-General to ensure and monitor the incorporation of a gender perspective throughout the UN systems (UN Women, 2014). At the regional scale, for instance the European Union (EU) established gender mainstreaming as an obligation of member states in the Treaty of Amsterdam (the legally binding foundation of the EU) (Booth and Bennett, 2002; Lombardo, 2005; Kennett and Lendvai, 2014). A series of EU frameworks has been further formulated to guide and implement gender mainstreaming into its member states, for instance, the Strategy for Equality between Men and Women 2010 - 2015 (O'Connor, 2014). In a different part of the world, gender mainstreaming has been placed as one aim of the Association of South East Asia Nations (ASEAN) Community's

Vision in building up a gender-sensitive environment (ASEAN, 2019). At the national scale, countries in the Asia-Pacific region have put in place national mechanisms for gender mainstreaming (ESCAP, 2014), whilst all African countries have integrated gender perspectives into their legislation, public policies and programmes, especially those related to economic empowerment (ECA, 2014). This evidence illustrates that the notion of "universal" gender mainstreaming developed at the international scale has been introduced and implemented at the regional and national scales.

However, this assumption has been questioned by a number of commentators. When gender mainstreaming is moved to diverse and unique new settings, this "universal policy" becomes ambiguous and highly contested. Gender mainstreaming is critiqued on what kinds of gender equality need to be achieved, and how to mainstream this concept (Woodward, 2001; 2008; Walby; 2005; Caglar, 2013). At times, gender mainstreaming is simply understood and narrowly interpreted as a women's issue (Petchesky, 2003; Payne, 2014). Regarding practice, gender mainstreaming has been criticised as a "quick-fix" policy that requires a set of technocratic tools for policy makers in bureaucratic polities (Woodward, 2003; Daly, 2005; Tiessen, 2005; Squire, 2005; van Eerdewijk, 2014). There are also concerns about the potential of gender mainstreaming to "transform" gender inequality and to meet the expectation held by feminists and policy makers of the practice when it was originally introduced (Verloo; 2005; Lombardo and Meier, 2006).

As demonstrated in the literature, gender mainstreaming has been constructed in Western institutions and studies have been extensively carried out in the Global North[1], while limited knowledge has been developed in the Global South[2],

[1] The term "Global North and Global South" denotes the generic geographic, historical, economic, educational, and political classifications of countries (Tadaro, and Smith, 2006). The concept of Global North and Global South 'marks an emphasis on geopolitical relations of power' between these two categories (Dados and Connell, 2012: 12). Global North is generally associated with wealthy educated, democratic, technologically advanced nations, which are mostly located in Europe and North America (Tadaro, and Smith, 2006).

[2] Global South refers broadly to countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania, which mostly denote countries outside Europe and North America. Global South generally relates to historically colonised places with low-income, and are often politically or culturally marginalised from the core of development (Tadaro and Smith, 2006; Dados and Connell, 2012; Richardson, 2015).

particularly in South East Asia. This shows that the production of knowledge on gender mainstreaming has tended to be dominated by Western feminist discourses and controlled by Western-based institutions and experts, an imbalance which silences marginalised voices in other contexts (Lyons et al., 2004). The impediment of this Western domination can be seen from the complexities when gender mainstreaming moves into a non-Western or/and non-English speaking context. These complexities relate to, for example, the challenge in translating "gender" and "gender mainstreaming" into other languages than English (Guenther, 2008; Winslow, 2009; Kennett and Lendvai, 2014) and the consequent resistance from local authorities against what is regarded as a "Western" policy (Wendoh and Wallace, 2005). These difficulties generate a question as to whether this so-called "universality" of gender mainstreaming can be embedded or becomes disconnected when it is moved into the Global South, particularly Thailand as the selected site of this study.

As one of 189 countries that adopted the BDPA, Thailand officially introduced gender mainstreaming into Thai policy through the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 which established the Chief Gender Equality Officers (CGEOs) and Gender Focal Points (GPFs) in departments in all ministries to promote gender equality within their agencies and services (SoC, 2001). According to this Cabinet Resolution, GFPs are designated to act as the focal points at the departmental level for integrating a gender perspective in the routine work of each department (OWF, 2012). Meanwhile, a Deputy Permanent Secretary or a Deputy Director-General is appointed as a CGEO to provide policy guidance and monitor progress of the implementation of gender mainstreaming in each department (OWF, 2012). CGEOs and GFPs closely worked with Thailand's National Women's Machinery (NWM) which is responsible for facilitating and coordinating with CGEOs and GFPs in the integration of a gender perspective into government institutions.

This gender mainstreaming policy appears to be gaining momentum in raising awareness of gender issues and bringing changes in the Thai polity. For example, GFPs have been established in 131 agencies (RTG, 2015a). Gender mainstreaming has also been enacted through gender-responsive legislation, policies, and programmes

by many agencies. For instance, the Department of Skills Development has established a quota system to increase women's participation in training programmes (RTG, 2015a). The Department of Health initiated the draft of the Reproductive Health Act to respond to the special needs of women regarding reproductive health (RTG, 2014; 2015a). Moreover, the 2015 Gender Equality Act has also been enacted to protect persons from gender-based discrimination (RTG, 2015b).

However, the limited number of studies on gender mainstreaming, which focus extensively on policy implementation, indicates that gender mainstreaming in practice encounters challenges. These challenges, including the rotation of staff, officials' negative attitudes towards gender mainstreaming, and a lack of capacity and resources in the GFPs, have resulted in inconsistent progress of gender mainstreaming in governmental institutions (Bhongsvej, 2009; Yamnin et al., 2010). These obstacles illustrate that the movement of the "universal" gender mainstreaming from one setting to another cannot be assumed as "taken-for-granted". This exposes a need to observe the new policy environments which differ from the policy's original setting and scrutinise the impact of the new policy environments (Mossberger and Wolman; 2003). This idea suggests an investigation for this study which is concerned with how "universal" gender mainstreaming is moved and embedded into the distinct Thai institutional settings.

The ultimate aim of this research is to understand the movement process of "global" gender mainstreaming into the unique Thai context. The specific aims are to (1) examine the notion of gender mainstreaming across international, national and implementation scales; (2) explore the policy actors involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming and the power dynamics among those policy actors; (3) investigate why and how policy actors locate this concept into the Thai national boundaries and the Thai implementation entities; (4) identify the impediments to the embeddedness of gender mainstreaming in the Thai institutions; and (5) provide theoretical reflection for implementation to better serve the complexity and diversity of gender inequality in Thailand.

To achieve these aims, the study specifically examines the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 on the Implementation on the Promotion of Gender Equality in the Thai Governmental Institutions and the practice based on this policy. This particular policy is selected because it is the only official policy significantly bringing the notion of gender mainstreaming into the Thai setting. The research questions are:

1) What elements of gender mainstreaming have been introduced into the Thai context and how are these interpreted?
2) Who has been involved in introducing gender mainstreaming into Thailand and what are the power dynamics among policy actors?
3) What reasons underpin the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand and what are the approaches adopted by policy actors to locate this notion into their institutional settings?
4) What are the challenges to embedding gender mainstreaming into the Thai institutions?

To explore the research questions by considering the tensions emerging from "universality", this study takes the perspective of postcolonial feminism as an overarching framework. Postcolonial feminism challenges the notion of universality by critically examining the hegemonic relationship of the Global North over the Global South which might be described as a new form of colonisation. Postcolonial feminism also places a focus on understanding the complexity and diversity of gender inequalities in a specific society (Mohanty, 1988; 2003; Steans, 2006). Furthermore, this study attempts to produce new knowledge from an otherwise less visible geographical area of the conventional gender mainstreaming research by selecting Thailand as the locus of this study. I also take my stance as a novice, Thai, and insider researcher to speak and produce the knowledge from the discourse margins.

Nevertheless, postcolonial feminism alone cannot fully explain the phenomenon of gender mainstreaming, which has been globally rapidly diffused (True and Minstrom, 2001). Therefore, policy movement approaches are also applied in this study. This thesis adopts the terms "policy movement" or "policy travel" interchangeably as

a general term referring to an overall process of policy as it is moved from one setting to another. The reason is that these terms do not contain a specific connotation of any diverse approaches of policy analysis studies. In this study, a different epistemology of policy movement studies which includes policy transfer and policy translation are employed as complementary concepts to investigate the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thai institutions. Stemming from the positivist paradigm, policy transfer explains a process by which institutions, policies, and administrative arrangements, in one place and time are used to develop those in another place and time (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000; Evans, 2004). In contrast to policy transfer, policy translation, which is rooted in constructivism, suggests that policy is not simply moved, but travels across different contexts such as ideology, institutions, power relations, and languages (Freeman, 2009; Clarke et al., 2015). Policy translation offers a lens for scrutinising the movement of gender mainstreaming, particularly when it travels transnationally across differing political and cultural dimensions, policy actors, and scales.

Consequently, the analytical framework of this study is built up from three distinct epistemologies: 1) Postcolonial feminism, from the transformative worldview, as an overarching perspective to open up an investigation of the intersections and the complexities of gender inequality in a specific context, the power relations between the Global North and the Global South, and gender hierarchies which has been neglected in the mainstream policy discourse; 2) Policy transfer from the positivist paradigm, as an entry point to examining the process of the movement of gender mainstreaming, such as who the actors are and why the movement occurs; 3) Policy translation rooted in constructivism, as an in-depth analytical tool to capture complexity, fluidity, non-transferability, and explain why gender mainstreaming is embedded or becomes disconnected in Thai institutions. This complementary tripartite conceptual framework helps explore, explain, and capture the fuller picture of the multifaceted movement of gender mainstreaming in Thai settings.

This research seeks to contribute to theoretical and subject knowledge. Regarding the contribution to theoretical approaches, the study applies the innovative tripartite lens,

as mentioned earlier, in order to explain and explore the movement of gender mainstreaming. The study also takes the postcolonial feminist standpoint by seeking to investigate the movement of gender mainstreaming in order to generate knowledge from the periphery of the mainstream Western discourses. As regards the subject contribution, this thesis strives to fill a geographical gap in the literature on gender mainstreaming studies as the extensive research is based in the Global North. Furthermore, gender mainstreaming in Thailand is under-researched and generally emphasises the implementation aspects of policy process, rather than observing gender mainstreaming as a continuous process with the involvement of multiple actors and multi-scalar interconnections, as this study attempts to do.

The thesis is organised into nine chapters:
Chapter 1, this chapter, provides an overview and rationale for the thesis.

Chapter 2 develops a review of the literature on gender mainstreaming by dividing into two parts. Part I explores the origins of gender mainstreaming, the current debates on the concept and the practice of gender mainstreaming. Part II further interrogates this notion from a postcolonial feminist perspective. It begins by drawing out the key essences of the postcolonial feminist standpoint and then discusses how to apply these facets to examine the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand.

Chapter 3 establishes the context of this study by providing an overview of the situation in Thailand regarding gender inequality, the women's movement, as well as the development and the debates on the notions of gender equality and gender mainstreaming from legal, policy, and practice perspectives. The specific policy of this study is also outlined and described. Furthermore, how gender mainstreaming has been studied in the Thai context and the gaps in the current debates are discussed.

Chapter 4 defines the conceptual framework for this research by firstly explaining policy transfer, policy translation, and their key concepts. This chapter is followed by the discussion of how the different philosophical paradigms of postcolonial feminism,

policy transfer, and policy translation are employed to form the complementary tripartite analytical framework to investigate the movement of gender mainstreaming in the Thai settings.

Chapter 5 describes the methodology and discusses the rationale for the approach used to address the research questions to achieve the aims of this study.

Chapter 6 presents the findings of elements of gender mainstreaming introduced into Thailand as well as the interpretations of policy actors towards such notions. It also presents the complexity and the dynamics of the concept of gender mainstreaming and discusses the reasons for multifaceted nature of this concept when it is moved into Thai settings.

Chapter 7 presents the findings on the multiple policy actors who are involved in the movement process of gender mainstreaming. It also explores and discusses the power relations and dynamics among those policy actors.

Chapter 8 explains the reasons for the receptivity of the Thai government to the concept of gender mainstreaming. This chapter also demonstrates the non-simply linear process of the localised approaches in moving gender mainstreaming from the international to the national setting, and then from a national scale to that of diverse institutions. The chapter further identifies key challenges in localising gender mainstreaming to be embedded in the Thai institutions.

Chapter 9 encapsulates the key findings and contributions of this thesis. This chapter closes the discussion by offering theoretical reflection for implementation and suggesting future research in this area.

Chapter 2
Gender Mainstreaming and Postcolonial Feminism

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to critically review the debates on the notion of gender mainstreaming and the overarching theory underpinning this research. Part I seeks to describe the concept of gender mainstreaming by looking at its historical origin and the policy actors involved in spreading and implementing this concept. The ambiguous concepts of gender mainstreaming will then be examined, and the interrelation between these notions and feminist approaches will be explained. Furthermore, the ways in which gender mainstreaming is integrated into practice are discussed. Part II begins by outlining the foundations of postcolonial feminism. Followed by the discussion of how the key aspects of the postcolonial feminist approach are applied into this study in particular.

Part I: The Notion of Gender Mainstreaming

2.2 The origin and trajectories of gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is defined by the UN as a process which involves the integration of gender dimensions through the consideration of the perceptions, experience, knowledge, and interests of women and men into an account of all policies, legislation, and organisational activities with the aim to achieving gender equality (ECOSOC, 1997; UN Women, 2002; UN Women, 2018b). The origin of gender mainstreaming has a close link with the rise of the feminist movement in the late 1960s. Feminists argue that contemporary knowledge of the social world and global politics is patriarchal and has been constructed and dominated by men to create the worldview within which women are placed at the periphery (Oakley, 1985; Tickner and Sjoberg, 2010). Therefore, feminists commit to eradicate gender-based injustices and strive to dismantle imbalances of power relations between women and men, to bring about gender equality (Hawkesworth, 1994; Whitworth, 2006). Gender mainstreaming is perceived as a vital concept of feminism in challenging existing patriarchal policy paradigms by rethinking policy implications which impact on all

women and men and devising policies as responses to their needs and interests (Caglar, 2013; Payne, 2014).

The history of gender mainstreaming can be traced to a series of pro-women agenda, evolving since the First World Conference on Women in 1975 (Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2000; Verloo, 2001; Tiessen, 2007). Gender mainstreaming is an extension of the notion of Women in Development (WID), which aims to move women from the social margins by adopting special policies and measures for women's advancement (Tinker, 1990; Jahan, 1995; Tiessen, 2007; Goetz, 2009). The WID approach was adopted throughout the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985) in the UN system, governments, development agencies and NGOs (Andersen, 1992). Nevertheless, WID is criticised for its neglect of the political and social structures hindering women's advancement (Jahan, 1995; Young, 1997). To overcome the flaws of the WID approach, the idea of Gender and Development (GAD), envisioning the transformation of imbalanced gender relations in policies, organisational structures and society, was developed in the 1980s (Kabeer, 1994; Razavi and Miller, 1995; Woodford-Berger, 2004; Moser, 2005; Wendoh and Wallace, 2005; Goetz, 2009; van Eerdewijk and Davids, 2014). Under GAD, the term "gender mainstreaming" emerged in international debates at the Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 (Council of Europe, 1998; Booth and Bennett, 2002; Kennett and Lendvai, 2014). Finally, this concept has been globally formalised through the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platforms for Actions (BDPA), endorsed by representatives from 189 countries during the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 (UN Women, 2015). Since then, gender mainstreaming has been perceived as a global policy paradigm for promoting gender equality and has rapidly travelled to international, regional, national, and organisational institutions (True and Minstrom, 2001; Caglar, 2013; Payne, 2014; UN Women, 2018a).

2.3 The movement of gender mainstreaming and policy actors

Gender mainstreaming has moved from one setting to another, which this process is interchangeably referred in this study as "policy movement" or "policy travel", as explained in the introduction. The movement of gender mainstreaming across different settings has been driven by various policy actors both in international and

domestic domains. These agents have influenced the dissemination and implementation of gender mainstreaming into new settings.

At the international scale, international communities use conferences and documentations to spread norms and framing policy culture (Bennett 1991; Stone, 2010). The UN has provided a series of international governmental and non-governmental forums for opening discussions of policy ideas to establish gender equality since the First World Conference on Women in Mexico (Verloo, 2001). The UN also produced wide-ranging guidance to explain and underpin an understanding of gender mainstreaming. For example, the ECOSOC Agreed Conclusions 1997/2 and Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview seek to clarify the idea of gender mainstreaming so that international and national institutions can apply this "universal" gender mainstreaming into practice in their settings (OSAGI, 2002; UN Women 2014).

Regional organisations also legitimate and facilitate the movement of gender mainstreaming. The EU, for example, located gender mainstreaming in the Treaty of Amsterdam (1998) (the legally binding foundation of the EU). This treaty formalised the commitment to gender mainstreaming and sets gender equality as a specific objective and task across all areas of the EU activities (Booth and Bennett, 2002; Lombardo, 2005). The Council of Europe also devised its own definition of gender mainstreaming in 1998 to frame the notion of gender mainstreaming within Europe (Council of Europe, 1998; Verloo, 2001). In the context of Southeast Asia, the concept of gender mainstreaming has been established as an aim for ASEAN, and widely appears in various ASEAN documents. The ASEAN Community's Vision, for example, states the aspiration that a gender-sensitive environment will be ensured by 2025 (ASEAN, 2019). This shows the shared commitment of the ASEAN countries regarding gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, transnational women's NGOs have also supported the development and the travel of gender mainstreaming since the mid-1970s onwards by bringing women's rights and gender equality to the attention of the global policy arena, for instance, the World Conference of the International Women's Year in 1975, the UN Decade for Women (1975 - 1985), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, and the BDPA in 1995 (Kennett and Payne, 2014).

At the national scale, a National Women's Machinery (NWM), which is a mechanism designed to promote, implement, advocate, and mobilise policies for the advancement of women and gender equality (ECOSOC, 1996), has been established as a central policy-coordinating unit to mainstream a gender perspective in all policy areas in many countries as directed by the BDPA (ECOSOC, 2000; 2004). Consequently, the movement of gender mainstreaming has largely been directed by central government bodies in driving the integration of a gender perspective to organisations and local governments (Subrahmanaian, 2004; Kumari, 2013). Additionally, national NGOs have been involved in moving forward gender mainstreaming in national settings by the dissemination of the concept and monitoring of the implementation of governments regarding this issue (ECOSOC, 2004; 2015).

Nevertheless, when gender mainstreaming is moved to a new setting by these policy actors, how this concept is established and understood tends to be ambiguous and contested. These details will be discussed in the next section.

2.4 Ambiguity of gender mainstreaming as "global" policy paradigm

The conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming is important to an understanding of how this idea is interpreted and practised when it travels to new settings. As discussed in Section 2.2, gender mainstreaming has been nominally internationally agreed and was defined by the UN. However, when gender mainstreaming travels into a new setting, it shows that the nature of gender mainstreaming is contentious. Most the relevant literature, produced within the EU context, indicates that the dispute over the concept of gender mainstreaming is a long-standing issue (Woodward, 2001; Carney, 2004; Daly, 2005; Thomas, 2005; Guenther, 2008; Payne, 2014). Gender mainstreaming as a concept is criticised as 'hollow' (Subrahmanian, 2004: 90) or 'elastic' (Daly, 2005: 439), which 'can mean all things to all people' (Caglar, 2013: 337). Scholars have variously attempted to explain the idea and have differentiated between many typologies of gender mainstreaming to explain how this concept is understood and practised (Jahan, 1995; Rees, 1998; Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2000; Booth and Bennett, 2002; Daly, 2005; Squires, 2005; Verloo, 2005). Under these various explanations, Walby (2005: 322) advises that the complex concept of gender mainstreaming relates to 'two different frames of reference', which are gender

equality and gender mainstreaming. The following sections will draw out explanations which may accompany the concepts of "gender equality and gender mainstreaming".

2.4.1 Concepts and features of gender equality

The concept of "gender equality" has been examined and termed by scholars. For instance, Rees (1998: 42 -48; 2005: 557) originally provided a foundation explanation towards an understanding of gender equality by dividing the model of gender equality within Europe at different periods into three themes: 'tinkering' (equal opportunities and equal treatment), 'tailoring' (positive action for women) and 'transforming' (mainstreaming). Booth and Bennett (2002: 432) labelled the concept of gender equality as 'three-legged equality stool', which is comprised of 'an equal treatment perspective', 'a women's perspective' and 'a gender perspective'. Verloo (2001: 4) explains various approaches to gender equality as 'equal treatment, specific equality policies, and gender mainstreaming'. Walby (2005: 321 - 322) also suggests that gender equality involves a mainstreaming process of the ideas of 'sameness, difference, transformation'.

These various explanations illustrate the similarities of the principles of gender equality, which relate to the principle of : equal rights between women and men, women's rights, and gender perspectives. The key principles, models, and features of gender equality are encapsulated in Table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1 Key principles, models, and features of gender equality

Key Principles	Equal rights	Women's rights	Gender perspectives
Models of Gender Equality	Equal treatment (Tinkering)	Positive actions for women (Tailoring)	Mainstreaming (Transforming)
Main focuses and features	• Individual rights • Legislative response	• Disadvantage groups • Special projects and measures, especially for women	• Systems and structures that give rise disadvantage groups • Integrates gender equality into mainstream systems and structures

Sources: Synthesised from Rees (2005: 557); Booth and Bennett (2002: 432); Verloo (2001:4)

According to Table 2.1, the first principle of gender equality is based on the idea of equal rights between men and women, which can be located in the 'tinkering' model of Rees (1998; 2005). In Rees's word (1998: 29), this model implies that 'no individual should have fewer human rights or opportunity than any other'. The practice of equal rights focuses on guaranteeing the same right and opportunity for any woman or man, particularly through legislative measures (Verloo, 2001; Booth and Bennett, 2002), for instance, the principle of equal pay for men and women (Rees, 1998). However, the concept of equal rights has a drawback because it only emphasises formal rights in the public sphere and neglects 'gender contracts', which are 'a rough social consensus on what women and men do, think and are' (Duncan, 1996:415), particularly informal gender contracts in the private sphere such as unpaid work. This drawback causes the development of the principle of women's rights or Rees's 'tailoring' approach (1998) to move away from the equal treatment approach. The women's rights model highlights the disadvantage of all women who deserve and require specific interventions and measures to overcome the unequal status between women to men under the patriarchal structure (Rees, 1998; 2005; Verloo, 2001; Booth and Bennett, 2002). The practice of this model is, for example, establishing a gender quota to increase the number of women in political representation (Mazey, 1995) or formulating a specific EU policy on preventing violence against women (Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2000). In contrast, the gender perspective principle or mainstreaming model, termed by Rees as 'transforming' (1998; 2005), moves upon adding-on women into policies. This model seeks to transform gender inequality embedded in policies, systems, institutional structures and cultures (Rees, 1998; 2005; Verloo, 2005). Furthermore, this model recognises the diversity and relationships with other dimensions of gender inequality such as race, sexual orientation and disability (Rees, 2005).

However, the question of how these models are implemented is controversial. On the one hand, Rees (1998; 2005) advocates that the practice of the model of 'tinkering' 'tailoring' and 'transforming' has developed and is practiced in the EU based on the chronological periods in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s respectively. On the other hand, Booth and Bennett (2002) and Daly (2005) argue that different models of gender equality are not separate, but they are interconnected, building and adding onto one

another. Rees' chronological categorisation of gender equality generates an assumption that the notion of each category is frozen and may not change over time (Daly, 2005). Daly's analysis of the EQUAPOL research focusing on the integration of gender issues in eight countries in Europe in 2002 - 2004 challenges the fixed three models of gender equality and illustrates that these models are, in fact, evolving. For example, the positive action is not limited only for women, but it has broadened to include different forms of inequality such as the educational development programme in Ireland specifically being provided for boys who are marginalised from educational opportunity. In France, Greece, and Spain specific interventions are provided for both women and men to establish gender equality (Daly, 2005). These examples indicate that gender equality is simultaneously evolved and that the models of gender equality are a mixture of equal treatment, positive action, and the transforming model (Booth and Bennett, 2002). The debates on concepts and models of gender equality thus give a sense of a departure point for this study to investigate how gender equality is interpreted in Thailand. The next section investigates in more detail about the notion of gender mainstreaming.

2.4.2 Notions and typologies of gender mainstreaming

Similarly to gender equality, gender mainstreaming has provoked a lively debate regarding its basic meanings, characteristics and ways of implementation. From one perspective the concept of gender mainstreaming is advocated as being a transformative strategy to address and redress gender inequality (True and Mintrom, 2001; Daly, 2005; Squires, 2005; Verloo, 2005; Mukhopadhyay, 2014). Another view indicates that gender mainstreaming is a policy approach and provides tools for actors to transcribe gender equality into the practice of policy process (Riley, 2004; Murison, 2004). From another viewpoint, the notion of gender mainstreaming is technical and involves political transformation, which relates to changing organisational practice and transforming the culture and values of institutional settings (Paterson, 2010, van Eerdewijk, 2014). These perspectives illustrate the contested concepts of gender mainstreaming as Daly (2005: 445) identifies that gender mainstreaming has 'a fuzzy core' which relates to a failure to acknowledge and deal with tensions within this notion.

Two key works by Jahan (1995) and Squires (2005) provide a useful analytical understanding of the concept of gender mainstreaming. Jahan (1995: 126) categorises gender mainstreaming into two typologies: 'integrationist' and 'agenda setting'. The integrationist approach simply introduces gender dimensions into existing policy process without challenging those policy paradigms. In contrast, the agenda-setting approach calls attention to the inclusion of women's voices and the transformation of the policy paradigms and practice of State, in order to challenge gender relations. For Squires (1999; 2005: 368), the concept of gender mainstreaming is characterised as 'inclusion' which is a focus on the integration of a gender mainstreaming approach in the policy process; 'reversal' which aims to integrate marginalised voices; and 'displacement' strategy which highlights dismantling the gender hierarchy. Their typologies share some common explanations for the multiplicity associated with gender mainstreaming, which can be categorised as a bureaucratic process, a women's movement process and a transformative process as demonstrated in Table 2.2:

Table 2.2 Multiple perspectives and typologies of gender mainstreaming

Perspectives	**Bureaucratic process**	**Women's movement process**	**Transformative process**
Squires's typology (2005)	Inclusion	Reversal	Displacement
Jahan's typology (1995)	Integrationist	Agenda setting	
Key actors	Bureaucrats and experts	Identifying groups	Political citizen
Practices	Bureaucratic	Consultative	Deliberative
Indicators	Policy tools	Politics of presence	Cultural transformation
Strengths	Effective integration	Inclusion of various voices	Sensitivity to diversity
Weaknesses	Rhetorical entrapment	Reification to women's issues	Lack of specificity

Sources: Adapted from Squires' Mainstreaming Strategies (2005:373) and Jahan (1995)

The idea that gender mainstreaming is perceived as a bureaucratic product is associated with 'inclusion' (Squires: 2005: 370) and 'the integrationist model' (Jahan, 1995: 126). This perspective emphasises the roles of the formal actors in bureaucracies, for

example, bureaucrats and experts, in establishing gender-neutral policy making. This approach has strength in its capability to bringing of a gender perspective into existing frames and practices of bureaucrats and policy processes (Squires, 2005; Verloo, 2005: 346). Nevertheless, the weakness of this model is that the integration of a gender perspective into the policy process can fall into 'rhetoric entrapment' (Verloo, 2001:10). This is because the level of integration depends on how bureaucrats understand gender issues, and how they are aligned with their existing norms and frameworks (Verloo, 2001; Squire, 2005). One example of 'rhetorical entrapment' is illustrated by a study by Behning and Pascual (2001) in Western European countries. This study demonstrates that gender mainstreaming is simply attempted through including a women's agenda into policies, but continues using the previous policies to fit women into the status quo without it being challenged.

In contrast, gender mainstreaming as a product of the women's movement is equivalent to the 'reversal' strategy (Squires, 2005: 370) and some characteristics of 'agenda setting' (Jahan, 1995: 126). This model focuses on the involvement of actors outside bureaucratic policymaking by paying attention to non-governmental organisations and social movements, particularly those led by women. Bringing various perspectives and voices into the gender mainstreaming process is the key benefit of this model. Jahan (1995: 92) stresses that the voice of women, especially those in the Global South is pivotal for the mainstreaming agenda. One caution of this model is that it might lead to imbalanced representations, in which one group might be privileged over others (Squires, 2005). This concern suggests that the various voices and perspectives of non-formal actors are based on who is included and represented in the gender mainstreaming process.

The last concept of gender mainstreaming is transformation. This concept is termed as 'displacement' by Squire (2005: 370) and reflects a part of the 'agenda setting' typology of Jahan (1995:126) regarding a need to reshape the imbalance in gender relations. This perspective seeks to displace a gender hierarchy system and process in society by promoting diversity (Squires, 2005; Verloo, 2005). Furthermore, gender mainstreaming needs to be aware of the diversity of contexts, for example, the cultures and languages in various settings (Jahan, 1995). However, a lack of specificity

of diversity makes this model is ‘broad and shallow’ instead of being ‘narrow and deep’ (Lombardo, 2003:47). To lessen this challenge, Squires (2005: 384) advocates the use of ‘deliberative democracy’ such as several citizens’ fora to open up discourses and examine the diversity of gender inequalities in order to transform the norms and the competing equality claims.

The derivation of gender mainstreaming produces divergent accounts of the nature of this concept (Squires, 2005). The multiple explanations and typologies of gender mainstreaming and its goals, gender equality, demonstrate that these notions are contested and remain open for manifold interpretations (Walby, 2005; O’Connor, 2014). This complexity frames a question for this research of how gender mainstreaming is conceptualised when it is moved into Thailand and whether these typologies of gender mainstreaming can explain an understanding of this notion in other contexts.

2.4.3 Theorising gender mainstreaming and gender equality

The various explanations of “gender mainstreaming and gender equality” illustrates that these two concepts are commonly debated around the ideas of ‘sameness’ ‘difference’ or ‘transformation’, which shows the ‘classical arguments’ of feminist theories (Walby, 2005: 326). As discussed in Section 2.2, gender mainstreaming is developed under the movement of feminists. These three notions suggest a close relation to different perspectives of “gender” as interpreted by diverse feminist approaches (Verloo, 2005; Squires, 2005).

The idea of “sameness” is originated from the first wave of the feminist movement, for example, liberal feminism (Verloo, 2005). The first wave feminists use ‘gender as an explanatory variable’ (Ticker and Sjoberg, 2010: 199). They explain that discrimination against and the subordination of women is caused by gender, which is socially constructed based on biological differences at birth (Charlesworth, 1994). Therefore, the first wave feminists strived to liberate women by advocating that the same rights must be granted for women to be equal to men, for example, an equal right to education, suffrage, and payment for work of equal value (Colebrook, 2004). This idea links with the explanation of gender equality as “equal rights” and the “bureaucratic

perspective" of gender mainstreaming, which places gender mainstreaming into the formal process in the bureaucracy to guarantee the same treatment between women and men.

In contrast, the notion of "difference" is rooted in the second wave of feminism (Verloo, 2005) including radical and standpoint feminists (Steans et al., 2010). Second wave feminism argues that expanding equal rights from men to women is not adequate to establish equality (Lorber, 2001; Pilcher and Whelehan, 2004). For this perspective, gender is seen as a variable by indicating that femininity, masculinity and imbalance of power are socially constructed through patriarchal institutions, for instance, family, economics, and politics (Colebrook, 2004). To deal with gender inequality, a special measure with an inherent recognition of female differences is vital (MacKinnon, 1987). This perspective suggests a correlation of the model of a "specific action" of gender equality and the "women's movement process" of gender mainstreaming. Both models focus on women's experiences and voices as they are marginalised and advocate special measures for women to establish gender equality.

As regards the notion of 'transformation', this concept stems from the third wave feminist movements such as poststructuralist feminism and postcolonial feminism (Lorber, 2001). The third wave feminists agree with the second wave feminists that a gender hierarchy is the deep-seated cause of gender inequality. However, they argue that gender is not universal, but it is different based on diverse categories of women of differing social status and societies. Then, the considerations of unequal structures and systems in a specific culture or society must be the central focus (Steans et al, 2010). This feminist perspective entrenches the "mainstreaming model" of gender equality and the "transformative model" of gender mainstreaming. It is suggested by various scholars that the notion of 'transformation' should be the characteristic of gender mainstreaming (Squires, 2005; Parpart, 2014; Mukhopadhyay, 2014)

The variety of typologies of "gender mainstreaming and gender equality" demonstrates a close interconnection with the diverse feminist approaches, based on how each feminist theory underpins the explanations of gender mainstreaming. As Walby (2005: 325) suggests 'it is important to be able to capture the continuously evolving

nature of the interaction between feminist and mainstreaming conceptions.' As this research's standpoint derives from postcolonial feminism, which is under the third wave feminist movement, this study takes the stance of "transformation" of the concept of gender mainstreaming and the "mainstreaming" model of gender equality. The details of how the concept of gender mainstreaming is framed and applied in this study will be further discussed in Section 2.7.

2.5 The problematic of gender mainstreaming in praxis

Besides understanding the concept of gender mainstreaming, it is important to relate how the concept of gender mainstreaming is implemented in new institutional settings. This is because the movement of policy relates to how policy is implemented (Spicker, 2015). As discussed in Section 2.4, the concept of gender mainstreaming would contain the transformative characteristic in order to be able to eradicate the patriarchal hierarchy and bring about substantive gender equality. However, the existing literature has clearly articulated a tension between the concept itself and the actual practice of gender mainstreaming, in which the practice disconnects from the transformative notion.

In practice, gender mainstreaming is diverse (Verloo, 1999; Beveridge and Nott, 2001; Daly, 2005; Braithwaite, 2005), in which each country has developed own definition and implementation (Verloo, 1999). One key criticism is that gender mainstreaming is commonly treated only as an invention of bureaucratic processes (Squires, 2005). This process entails the establishment of gender mainstreaming structures within government entities. Most mechanisms of gender mainstreaming are similarly located at the national level under the bureaucratic system (ECOSOC, 2000; Subrahmanaian, 2004; ECOSOC, 2015). Moreover, in agencies, a special unit and gender focal points are generally equipped with officials and experts who have knowledge of gender mainstreaming (Parpart, 2014), which Beveridge and Nott (2002: 113) term as 'expert-bureaucratic model'. The majority of these officials tend to be female and in junior or middle positions (Akpalu et al., 2000; Tiessen, 2005; Winslow, 2009). Many studies show that these bureaucratic mechanisms can only be "side-streaming" without fully mainstreaming a gender perspective into processes of entire agencies. For example, Puechguirbal (2010) reveals that the gender unit solely takes on the burden

in the work of integrating a gender perspective, while gender issues are neglected from mainline UN peacekeeping units. Whitworth (2004) also indicates that a separate gender unit tends to work as a liaison between themselves and local women's NGOs only, whereas local political actors who are mostly men, deal with officials in the main offices and departments. Another major trend of the bureaucratic practice of gender mainstreaming is 'transversalism', which is spreading the gender mainstreaming responsibility across units and departments (Braithwaite, 2005: 4; Daly, 2005). However, this practice is implemented by merely adding additional objectives and considerations related to gender issues onto existing policy regardless of fundamentally reforming the policy framework (Braithwaite, 2005; True and Parisi, 2013).

Gender mainstreaming is also perceived as a contemporary policy approach to achieving gender equality (Verloo, 1999; Daly, 2005; McGauran, 2009; Alonso, 2016). However, gender mainstreaming is treated merely as a quick-fix policy that requires a technocratic solutions and gendered-knowledge to implement (Woodward, 2003; Beveridge and Nott, 2002; Standing, 2004; Daly, 2005; Kusakabe, 2005; Tiessen, 2005; Squire, 2005; Davids et al., 2014). The gendered-knowledge and technocratic solutions generally rely on the use of gender mainstreaming instruments, for example, sex-disaggregated data, gender budgeting, and gender impact assessments (Rees, 2005; Mukhopadhyay, 2014). These technocratic tools simplify and homogenise gender mainstreaming into the same pattern of policy solutions (van Eerdewijk, 2014). Moreover, the replica pattern is disseminated through a short training, tools, frameworks, manuals by gender experts and units to standardise the procedures of gender mainstreaming, without challenging the imbalance of power relations in institutional settings (Woodford-Berger, 2004; Parpart, 2009). This practice tends to be separated from the transformative agenda because gender mainstreaming departs from the requirements of current trends of policy approach more than stems from 'an analysis of gender inequality as structural problem' (Daly, 2005: 440).

The practice of gender mainstreaming is also distinct in various settings based on institutional factors and political opportunities. The regional review of the implementation

of BDPA of Europe indicates that the political will is the common supporting factor required to promote the development of gender mainstreaming policies (ECE, 2014). In contrast, the review of the implementation of BDPA of the Asia and the Pacific found that a lack of political will and accountability, as well as a limited awareness of and appreciation for gender equality, hinders the potential for the integration of a gender perspective into policy processes (ESCAP, 2014). In agencies, a lack of commitment by staff, especially those at a high-level position, undermines the implementation of gender mainstreaming, as has widely been indicated in the literature (Braithwaite, 2002; Kasukabe, 2005; Caglar, 2013). One example is the study by Raven-Robert (2005). This study discloses that due to the absence of the commitment of the senior management of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, gender mainstreaming is merely implemented by adding the words 'women', 'girls' and 'gender' into the policy documents as many as possible to display gender sensitivity. According to the UN reports, the limited availability of financing for the implementation of gender mainstreaming caused by economic crisis and austerity is a common long-standing problem in various countries and agencies (ECOSOC, 2004; 2010; 2015). Human resources are also a shared problem in many countries. Studies highlight that not only understaffing, but insufficient knowledge and expertise result in the inability to clearly define gender mainstreaming goals in Europe (Benschop and Verloo, 2006; Meier and Celis, 2011). Evidences of the resistance of staff to gender transformation is also one of obstacles in locating gender mainstreaming in a new setting (Rao and Kelleher, 2005; Aasen 2006; Lombardo and Mergaert, 2013).

From the literature review, whether it relates to the conceptualisation or practice of gender mainstreaming, it shows that the production of the mainstream knowledge of gender mainstreaming tends to be Western based, while academic literature from other contexts is relatively limited. This limitation raises the question of whether or not the mainstream knowledge can be relevant to other contexts which have different social, economic, and political settings. Consequently, to fill the gap of the existing literature, this research seeks to produce knowledge of gender mainstreaming from a non-Western based context and a non-mainstream perspective. To produce this knowledge, a postcolonial feminist perspective is employed to investigate gender

mainstreaming, particularly in the Global South, an approach which will be discussed in detail in the next part.

Part II Postcolonial Feminism and Gender mainstreaming

2.6 Origin, key concepts, and critiques of postcolonial feminism

Postcolonial feminism is a movement under the third wave feminism originating in the 1980s (Lorber, 2001; McEwan, 2001). Postcolonial feminism stems from the transformative philosophical worldview which focuses on studying lives and experience of divers group, particularly those who are marginalised, so as to explain and transform asymmetric social and political relations (Creswell, 2014). At the heart of the movement, postcolonial feminists desire to racialise the domination and universal assumptions of mainstream Western feminism by advocating a study of peculiarities of gender constructions and hierarchy within and across geopolitical settings, in order to avoid the tendency of discursive colonisation (Mohanty, 1984; Lewis and Mills, 2003). The origin of postcolonial feminism, as the name suggests, stems from a mixture of the perspectives of feminism and postcolonialism. Postcolonial feminists share the same goal as other feminist perspectives in acquiring gender equality. However, they indicate that the first and second wave feminist approaches generalise all diverse women into the same category (Mohanty, 2003; Zuckerwise, 2014). Based on postcolonial stance, postcolonial feminism strives to fight back against eurocentrism (Mishra, 2013; Tyagi, 2014). Eurocentrism is the perception that the Global North is intellectually, culturally and technologically more capable than the Global South, which is said to be powerless and requires assistance from the superior West (Leckey, 2014). However, postcolonial feminists criticise postcolonialist theory for its male domination, the exclusion of women, and a lack of engagement with questions of gender (Lewis and Mills, 2003; Tyagi, 2014).

Based on the combination of feminist and postcolonial perspectives, key essences of postcolonial feminism can be explained as taking account of the hegemonic relationships between the Global North and the Global South; marginality; intersectionality; and diversity. Regarding the supremacy of the Global North over the Global South, postcolonial feminists indicate that the model of feminist discourse originated from and is operated by white, Euro-American, middle-class women,

a construct which is largely acknowledged as a universal prototypical model (Grewal and Kaplan, 1994; Achilleos-Sarll, 2018). The review by Syed and Ali (2011) on the role of "White" colonialists in various contexts demonstrates Western supremacy over the Global South. For example, in the African context, 'White feminists' are less aware of the differences between "women of colour" and themselves (Kohrs-Amissah, 2002). In the South Asian context, the image of Indian women was constructed by British feminists as powerless and dependent on the imperial state for emancipation (Syed and Ali, 2011).

With regard to marginality, this idea is associated with the hegemonic power of "the Imperialist"/ "the Western" /"the Global North", and how this supremacy impacts on the invisibility and silence of the voice of "the Colonised"/ "the non-Western" and "the Global South". Therefore, postcolonial feminism seeks to raise the voice of the subalterns (Spivak, 1988) based on the advocacy that women are not one homogeneous group (Mohanty, 1988, 2003; Narayan, 1997). Postcolonial feminists underline that 'all women, especially those who are marginalized, must have the power to define their own experiences and to participate in the analysis of, and solutions to, the problem they face' (Deepak, 2014: 161). It may be argued that socialist feminism, the movement during the second wave of feminism, also pays attention to the different categories of women through its focus on race and class. However, this could be seen as a flaw as the racial focus of socialist feminism operates under the hegemony of Western discourses, in which the experiences and contributions of women of colour are disregarded (Sa'ar, 2005).

Since "women of colour" are marginalised, postcolonial feminists suggest studying the gender hierarchy by investigating the complexity of inequality. They advise that intersectionality and diversity facilitate an insightful understanding of gender inequality in the social world. Regarding intersectionality, they indicate that gender inequality is an intersection of gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexualities, and physical disability (Mohanty, 1984, 2003; Narayan 1997; Schwarz and Ray, 2000). They also emphasise that women and men with the same economic status or race may face a common subordination (Lorber, 2001). This perspective illustrates that the gender equality goal of postcolonial feminism is not only limited to women's issues, but

expands to those persons and groups who are marginalised in society because of gender hierarchies.

As regards diversity, postcolonial feminism highlights the socio-political and cultural aspects in different contexts, for example 'moral, religious sites, languages, and literature' needs to be critically examined to understand gender inequality (Mishra, 2013: 130). They also indicate that gender inequality based on the multiple effects of social constructions on women's lives needs to be observed (Zack, 2007). To achieve gender equality, postcolonial feminists advocate assessing the struggle against gender oppression and the complexities of gender inequality in a specific society, which is the heart of the movement of postcolonial feminists (Steans, 2006).

Postcolonial feminism is critiqued by other feminist approaches for fragmenting the unified platform of the feminist movement, with its rejection of the notion of universality and its focus on distinct women's experiences in diverse locations (Snyder-Hall, 2010). This criticism can be rebutted in that postcolonial feminists actually share the same goals as other feminist approaches in achieving gender equality. However, they apply a magnifying gender lens to examine women in distinct and specific contexts in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of gender-based hierarchy and gender inequality in various settings without assuming that women are a homogeneous group. This is not to assume that postcolonial feminism rejects all notions of universality and neglects the unified platform of other feminisms (Schutte, 2007). Instead, they advocate that an understanding of universalism must include an investigation of 'multiple oppressions and their diverse social consequences' (Zack, 2007:205). The awareness of multiple layers of gender hierarchies advocated by postcolonial feminism pursues to establish an interconnection between local and universal aspects (Mohanty, 2003; Zack, 2007) to find a 'balance, mutual respect and harmony' between universality and local contexts (Mishra, 2013: 133).

The explanation above illustrates that the postcolonial feminist perspective is a useful overarching framework for investigating "global" gender mainstreaming when it is moved from Western institutions to the Thai context, situated in the Global South as

the site of this study. The following sections will further elaborate on how the four principles of postcolonial feminism are applied and shaped the standpoint of this research.

2.7 Postcolonial feminism and the study of gender mainstreaming in Thailand

2.7.1 "Universal" gender mainstreaming from a postcolonial feminist perspective

Drawing from the perspective of postcolonial feminism, gender mainstreaming tends to pose threats when moving into new settings, particularly the Global South. Even though gender mainstreaming is consensually agreed by the 189 countries at the UN, this agreement is criticised for its origin within an imbalance of political relations between the Global North and the Global South. As Spivak (1996) indicates, that UN feminism is a monoculture of Western liberal feminism. The gender version of mainstreaming is constructed under the domination of Western feminist discourses and is controlled by 'Western-based gender mainstreaming experts' (Lyons et al., 2004). Miller (1999) and Petchesky (2003) further elaborate that the division of the priorities of the political powers between the Global North and the Global South exists in international conferences, as the Global North institutions, both government and non-government, tend to have more powerful voices based on their financial and human resources in controlling the global agenda.

The complication of this "Western" dominated policy creates a number of challenges when gender mainstreaming travels into non-Western contexts and non-English speaking countries. One difficulty can be seen from the problem of the linguistic translation of the gender mainstreaming terminology into languages other than English, which has been highlighted in the literature from different contexts. In Europe, the high diversity of languages makes dissemination of the concept and materials on gender mainstreaming an ongoing problem (Verloo, 1999; Guenther, 2008). Mehrez (2007) indicates the difficulty of translating "gender" into Arabic languages. In Afghanistan, a study of Abriafeh (2009:52) also illustrates that there is no agreed upon translation of "gender" in their languages and this term is simply adopted as another word for women. Similarly, Spivak (1992: 186) highlights the problem in South Asia where 'gendering could not be translated into Bengali'. This common linguistic problem shows that the production of gender mainstreaming is

dominated by a Western culture where English is used as the "global" language with little awareness of the diversity of other languages.

The difficulty of linguistic translation into local languages means many non-native English countries are forced to use the English term (Charlesworth, 2005; Guenther, 2008). Adopting the English term contains the idea of imposing Western values into non-Western countries, which usually ends up with resistance to the concept and implementation of gender mainstreaming (Winslow, 2009; Abriafeh, 2009). A good example of this resistance is illustrated in the study by Wendoh and Wallace (2005) in some African countries. The study reveals that gender mainstreaming is seen as being 'foreign', 'threatening' and a plan to 'usurp men's power', which is not relevant to their cultural contexts (Wendoh and Wallace, 2005: 72).

Gender mainstreaming is also perceived as 'a symbol of modernity' (Daly, 2005:441) and a means to economic development in contemporary policy (Parpart, 2009; Davids et al., 2014). These ideas label gender mainstreaming as a fashionable policy making, which has been widely promoted by international agencies, for example, the UN, the Council of Europe and the European Unions (Daly, 2005). The agenda of gender mainstreaming at times is driven by donor agencies as 'part of conditional aid' in the Global South (Standing, 2004: 83). For instance, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has targeted gender equality as a policy objective and has monitored activities concerning the promotion of gender equality in recipient countries (OECD, 2015). The USAID also prioritises gender equality and women's empowerment in their aid policies and adopts gender analysis and sex-disaggregated data to analyse the progress of their financial aid in developing countries (USAID, 2012). These international aid agencies can pressure recipient countries, particularly those in the Global South, to promote gender responsive policies. Foskey's study (2004) illustrates that the World Bank has the authority to force governments to formulate policies designated to benefit women and girls through its Country Assistance Strategies. Wendoh and Wallace (2005) also found that gender mainstreaming becomes a requirement for some African countries in gaining financial support from donors. These examples demonstrate the hegemony of the international agencies and donors who are usually from the Global North over the

Global South by enforcing and shaping the direction of policies of these recipient countries. This practice could represent a new form of colonisation through the penetration of foreign ideas into domestic policies.

2.7.2 Postcolonial feminism and the researcher's standpoint

From the postcolonial feminists' critiques directed at "universal" gender mainstreaming, it shows that the universality of the concept is problematic and highlights the need to observe whether so-called "universal" gender mainstreaming "works" in non-Western countries. Furthermore, as discussed, the major debates, documents, and studies on gender mainstreaming have been extensively produced in Western contexts, particularly in the EU context, while notably little research has been carried out on gender mainstreaming in South-east Asia. As Sa'ar (2005:686) indicates, the most widespread acknowledgement and documents of feminism are associated with 'well off, well educated, and white' women, described by Spivak (1990:126) as 'epistemic violence'. The epistemic violence reflects the idea that 'the establishment of knowledge and discipline is never innocent: knowledge is also the formation of power which not only delineates specific inclusion but enforces overt and covert exclusions' (Foucault, 1980). Consequently, this study seeks to investigate the movement of "universal" gender mainstreaming into the Thai context from my stance as a Thai researcher, who speaks and produces the knowledge from the periphery.

2.7.3 Conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming through a postcolonial feminist lens

Based on the core principles of postcolonial feminism outlined in Section 2.6; taking into consideration the hegemony of the Global North over the Global South; marginality, intersectionality; and diversity, these foundations shape the conceptualisation of the notion of gender, gender equality, and gender mainstreaming for investigating the movement of gender mainstreaming in this research.

"Gender" does not only involve women's issues but is expanded to include those groups who are oppressed by and marginalised from patriarchal constructions.

Furthermore, gender is not universal, but the struggle against gender oppressions for particular groups and in specific societies needs to be examined and explained.

Gender equality in this study goes beyond the sameness of rights and gender balance between women and men. Instead, it emphasises keeping an awareness of the multiple intersections of gender hierarchies, which incorporate race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation and gender identity, and their intersections within specific societies. Furthermore, gender equality relates to how the marginalised groups who have suffered from multiple gender hierarchies are guaranteed and supported in obtaining their rights.

Gender mainstreaming is here perceived as a transformative process of asymmetric gender relations in society in order to achieve gender equality. To transform society, gender dimensions with sensitivity to diversity and particularity must be taken into account both in individual and institutional settings. Approaches to gender mainstreaming are complementary to the practicalities of equal treatment, providing specific interventions for a specific group, and transforming of gender hierarchies.

The four principles of postcolonial feminism also framed the overarching analytical framework of this study; this will be discussed in Chapter 4 to provide the connection between how these principles are applied with other analytical elements of this study.

2.7.4 The selection of the context for this study

Postcolonial feminism frames the selection of the context in the study as they suggest that marginalised voices should be heard, and that there is a need to investigate the relationship between the Global North and the Global South (Mohanty 1984, 2003; Spivak, 1988). Thailand is selected as it is categorised as "the Global South" in a category of developing countries (UN, 2014) and upper middle-income countries (UN, 2015; World Bank, 2018a). Even though Thailand has not been "officially" colonised, the power of Western institutions has been widespread throughout the country and has significantly affected the country's reformations and revolutions. One significant example is the westernised reform introduced during the reign of King Rama V (1868 - 1910) in order to avoid colonisation from the "Western superpower"

(Bumrungsook, 1989). The country has to some extent been socially, economically, politically, and culturally reformed. Railway construction was initiated due to the imperialism period to protect Thai territory and its strategic economic areas from Western powers (Yeunyonganant, 1977). In terms of education, Royal children were educated in western countries to bring the "modern and advanced" knowledge of the West to modernise the country. A formal education system for people was also initiated (Kosaiyawat, 2005). Furthermore, Western norms influenced the introduction of gender practices in Thailand, which define behavioural patterns and relations between women and men based on their sexes (Buranajaroenkij, 2017). For example, women's dress was influenced by Westernisation especially in the Victorian era to the substantial covering of their body instead of the style of local traditional dress (Songsamphan, 2004; Leventon and Gluckman, 2013). Monogamy and marriage registration were enforced in 1930, despite the fact that the practice of polygamy has not been changed (Songsamphan, 2004). New forms of oppressions through the imitation of Western laws during the modernisation period emerged, for example, women having less right to marital property (Bunnag, 2011). These examples illustrate the influence of Western power over Thailand. As such, Thailand is selected as a context for this study.

2.8 Conclusion

Gender mainstreaming is seen as a landmark achievement for the feminist movement in placing a gender perspective into the global policy paradigm. This notion has been universally acknowledged as a strategy for achieving gender equality since the adoption of the BDPA in 1995. This adoption has triggered the movement of gender mainstreaming across multi-scalar boundaries, policy actors, scales, and over time. However, when this concept travels into the new setting, ambiguous tensions of the notion emerge. Gender mainstreaming is variously interpreted and practiced. The key debates relate to how one perceives gender mainstreaming as a bureaucratic process, a women's movement process, or a transformative process. These multiple understandings of gender mainstreaming have a close relationship with the feminist theoretical standpoints applied to explain gender mainstreaming. The debates illustrate that gender mainstreaming encapsulates tensions of feminist theories and practice as well as contested process of its movement into new settings. Based on the literature

review, the majority of the debates and studies of gender mainstreaming are extensively Western-based, especially originating from the EU context, while the production of knowledge on this issue in a non-Western context is limited. This limitation generates a research question on how the "universal" notion of gender mainstreaming is "doing" when it is moved in a non-Western context, particularly Thailand as the site of this study. To investigate this issue, postcolonial feminism with its four principles including taking into account the hegemony of the Global North over the Global South; marginality; intersectionality; and diversity is applied as an overarching lens for this study. The next chapter will discuss in more detail regarding gender mainstreaming in the Thai setting and describe the specific scope of this study.

Chapter 3

Gender Inequality and Gender Mainstreaming in Thailand

3.1 Introduction

Thailand, where this study is based, is one of the 189 countries that has adopted and located "global" gender mainstreaming into its institutional settings. To better understand the context of this study, this chapter examines the connection between the notion of gender mainstreaming and Thailand. To begin with, the situation of gender inequality and the women's movement in Thailand will be examined. Furthermore, the notion of gender equality from a Thai legal perspective and the development of Thailand' policies regarding women's issues and gender mainstreaming will be drawn out and discussed. Leading to this, the gender mainstreaming policy for this study will be specifically outlined and the essences of this policy will be described. Supporting factors and the obstacles to gender mainstreaming in practice based on the current literature will be also examined to provide an overview of how and why gender mainstreaming has to some extent been able to be, and why it could not be embedded in Thai settings. This chapter then considers the ways in which gender mainstreaming has been studied in the Thai context to explore how this research will fill the gap in the current knowledge and take forward the goals of postcolonial feminism on gender mainstreaming.

3.2 Gender inequality in Thailand

There is a general agreement across the literature that gender inequality in Thailand stems from patriarchy (Songsamphan, 2004; Pruekpongsawalee, 2004; Tantiwiramanond, 2007; Assavarak, 2007; Thaweesit, 2011; Archavanitkul and Vajanasara, 2014; Buranajaroenkij, 2017). Patriarchy is a social construction of the unequal distribution of power between men and women in society whereby women are systematically disadvantaged, oppressed, and exploited (Walby, 1990; Santasombat, 2005; Ramithanond, 2015). The patriarchal relationship is illustrated through the gender division of labour in a private and public sphere dichotomy (Gheaus, 2012). Historically, Thai women were reserved mainly in the private sphere as "a wife and a mother". The private sphere of women is related to household boundaries where the main activities include

cooking, child rearing, and a duty relating to biological sex such as childbirth (Songsamphan, 2011; Poojenapan, 2017). Women are instilled to be submissive housewives and followers (NCWA, 1994; Assavarak, 2007). In contrast, men are taught to be strong, courageous, and take a leadership role as breadwinners of the family (NCWA, 1994). Based on these traits, men are perceived as chauvinists who have an ability to occupy and control public sphere, which is related to political, economic and social aspects (Ramithanond, 2015). The occupying of the public sphere by men has oppressed women's lives, for example, through the establishment of a regulation to prohibit women to be positioned as provincial governors or generals (before 1993) (RTG, 1999), and restricting women from entering in a certain area of some religious places. The division of private and public spheres between women and men has not been questioned and is normalised in Thai society (Okin, 1991).

In Thai contemporary society, women have an opportunity to enter into the public sphere by joining the labour market as a part of increasing the country's productivity and economic competitiveness (OWF and WYSP, 2009; Buranajaroenkij, 2017). However, the public-private dichotomy continues to play a part in shaping gender stereotypes and asymmetric power relations between women and men through a process of socialisation influenced by various social institutions such as family, education, and media institutions. Within the family, boys are taught to help their father in outdoor activities. In contrast, girls are trained to do housework for the family and taking care of younger brothers and sisters (NCWA, 1994; Rodsap, 2012). In educational institutions, textbooks perpetuate the insidious stereotypes of boys and girls. The research on the Perception of Gender Norms in Thailand's Educational System (World Bank, 2015) reveals that from the content analysis of 538 contemporary textbooks, boys and men are represented in leadership and professional roles such as doctors, executives, and business persons. In contrast, girls and women are often stereotyped as housewives, teachers, and nurses, which are associated with the traditional role of women regarding nurturing and caring. Furthermore, educational personnel tend to believe that girls have less ability to be leaders than boys (World Bank, 2015). This stereotype shapes and impacts on the perception and the opportunity of girls and boys in pursuing their education (Kongdecha, 2001). Furthermore, the media has normalised patriarchal cultures, such as by presenting

marital rape as acceptable (Assavarak, 2007; OWF and WYSP, 2009). This socialisation process ties woman with, and reinforces, the subordinate role of women as well as discriminates and hinders their active participation in every aspect of the public sphere.

In political and decision-making participation, statistics demonstrates that women are under-represented in political positions at all levels. Only one female holds a ministerial position in the current Cabinet (The 61st Cabinet starting from 30 August 2014) (SoC, 2019). There are only 13 female members out of 220 in the National Legislative Assembly (NLA, 2019). In the public sector, women hold only 27 percent of high executive positions (OCSC, 2018). Likewise, in the local administrative government, women represent only 6.99 percent (532 persons) of the executives and 17.09 percent (24,709) of the members (DWF, 2017a). One key barrier to preventing women from holding high positions in politics relates to gender stereotyping. Women are perceived as emotional, and that they lack decisiveness, perseverance and courage (Chongsudtamanee, 1995; Buranupakorn, 2008; Nokul, 2015). Based on these perceptions, women are less acknowledged as leaders. Similarly, in the business sector, women also encounter many obstacles. For instance, female executives face a gender pay gap in which they earn less than their male counterparts who have similar qualifications or skills (Hansatit, 2014). Furthermore, the social expectation of women's role in getting married and having children undermines women's self-perception in that women decide to turn down their promotions to concentrate on their family life, for example, having and taking care of children (Hansatit, 2014). This glass ceiling, an invisible barrier that hinders the advancement of women in organisations and state politics (Songsamphan, 2011), prevents women from engaging in the Thai public sphere alongside men.

Regarding education, the literacy of young women (aged 15 - 24) nationwide is much the same as their male counterparts at 97.8 for women and 98.1 for men (World Bank, 2017). However, participation in tertiary education reflects traditional attitudes in the selection of fields of study. Women tend to choose health and welfare, humanity, art, social science, business administration, law and science faculties whereas engineering and agriculture faculties were mostly dominated by men (RTG, 2015a). Significantly,

women cannot enter male-dominated institutions, for example, the military academy. There had been some positive developments with the Royal Police Cadet Academy opening for the enrolment of women for the first time since its 107 year foundation in 2009 (RTG, 2014; RTG, 2015a). However, the enrolment for women was abolished in 2016 due to a claim that there were sufficient female police cadets.

Health services provided by the government tend to focus only on reproductive health, particularly on family planning and maternal and child care with less emphasise service provisions for the other diverse health dimensions of different ages and groups of women (Archavanitkul and Boonmongkon, 1999; Archavanitkul and Vajanasara, 2015). One of the prominent examples of the deprivation women's health rights is to restrict them from the safe pregnancy termination services, particularly for unplanned pregnancy (Archavanitkul and Vajanasara, 2015). Under the Criminal Code, Section 305, abortion is illegal and permitted only under certain circumstances, including when the pregnancy threatens the woman's life or health, or when it has resulted from rape, incest, or unlawful sexual contact. The exception to the law tends to be problematic, particularly the interpretation of the threats to women's health. Practitioners tend to narrowly interpret a pregnancy as "threatening" a woman's physical health and try to avoid performing the abortion in order to protect themselves from any accusation of illegal practice (Eungprabhanth, 1994; Warakamin et al., 2004; Archavanitkul and Vajanasara, 2015). Furthermore, many women continue to have insufficient knowledge and information relating to their health which stems from the construction of gender norms, especially sexual health rights. For instance, due to the social construction of gender, "good girls" should not express themselves sexually, be sexually active, or have extensive knowledge about sex (Songsamphan, 2004). This perception impacts on the sexual health of women because they feel embarrassed to expose their body, which leads them to avoid medical check-ups such as a Pap smear test for cervical cancer or checking for breast cancer (Thaweesit, 2011).

In the private sphere, women encounter various forms of human rights violations. It may be argued that Thai laws have developed to provide more safeguard for women in the private sphere, for example, the revision of the Penal Code to criminalise marital rape, the enactment of The Protection of Victims of Domestic Violence Act

B.E. 2550 (2007) to provide protection for persons from all forms of domestic violence on the basis of their human rights and strengthening the family institution. However, in reality, these laws cannot provide sufficient protection for women. The Protection of Victims of Domestic Violence Act, for example, is criticised for its implementation which emphasises reconciliation methods for family preservation more than ensuring the right of women to live a violence-free life (CEDAW Committee, 2006). According to the statistics of the One Stop Crisis Centre (OCSC), which provides a multidisciplinary service for those who face violence against women and domestic violence, it estimates that approximately 55 persons per day face violence against women and domestic violence. The 558 OCSCs nationwide reported that in 2017, from the total case, 94.50 percent (18,919 cases) were women, 5.40 percent (1,079 cases) were men and 0.10 percent (20 cases) were LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendered) (DWF, 2017b). This number is only the tip of the iceberg, as studies indicate that many victims of domestic violence and violence against women remain silent due to the patriarchal culture. A study of domestic violence by Assavarak (2007) reveals that many women do not report the situations they face due to a belief that "a good wife" is supposed to keep what occurs in the family only within the family boundaries and not reveal them to the public. Additionally, the "blaming the victim" perspective of officials and society has forced them to stay away from and not to access services (RTG, 2015). Furthermore, gender norms in the private sphere remain robust. The perception regarding household responsibility belonging to women makes them bear a double responsibility in the labour market and household. The recent Thailand's time-use survey in 2014 reveals that females spend more time per day than men in unpaid caregiving to household members, 3.09 hours for females and 1.76 hours for males. Regarding socialising activities, women have less time than men, with women spending 4.03 hours, while men spend 4.48 hours per day (NSO, 2015).

Based on the postcolonial feminism perspective, as discussed in Section, 2.7.3, gender equality is complex with different groups of women having diverse experiences and facing dissimilar barriers to their enjoyment of equality. In the Thai context, the prevalence of discrimination and the violation of the rights of specific groups of women, for example, migrant workers, displaced women, ethnic women, and women

with disabilities, are perpetuated. Migrant workers and displaced women cannot fully gain access to information and necessary services because of their limited education and the barriers of language (DWF, 2017a). Ethnic women who live in sub-cultures are vulnerable to having their rights violated. For example, harmful practices based on discriminatory social attitudes persist especially in rural and remote areas such as female genital mutilation and bride kidnapping among Muslim communities in the southern border provinces (CEDAW Committee, 2017). In the Akha community (one of the ethnic groups in Northern Thailand), women have had their rights limited from being village leaders (IWNI, 2017). Women with disabilities are also at risk of being victims of sexual violence (DWF, 2017a). Women in the southern border provinces have encountered the insurgency since 2004. This insurgency impacts on the loss of their property and their husbands who are the breadwinners for their families, and affects their mental security (FOW, 2017; CEDAW Committee, 2017; Buranajaroenkij et al., 2017). Furthermore, women in the informal employment sector such as domestic workers have been excluded from labour and social security protections, for example, the minimum wage assurance, overtime compensation, and maternity leave (CEDAW committee, 2017).

Gender equality is not only a women's issue, but also includes the intersectionality of gender inequality as suggested by postcolonial feminism. Discrimination against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) persons is prevalent. The legal status of LGBT people and their legal rights to family life, particularly the right to marry and child adoptions is denied by Thai law (UNDP and USAID, 2014). Moreover, Thai law does not allow transgender and intersex persons to change their legal gender title in official documents. This practice affects their psycho-social status as they are always questioned on their gender identity which conflicts with their sex at birth in official documents (NHRC, 2012; Ocha, 2013). In their daily lives, LGBTI persons have encountered several forms of discrimination. For example, with little awareness of their rights to health services, practitioners place transgender persons in hospital wards based on their sex at birth (UNDP and USAID, 2014). Some health care professionals also stigmatised LGBTI as people who are mentally unstable (Ojanen, 2010). In the workplace, the study by the World Bank on Economic Inclusion of LGBTI groups in Thailand (2018b) reveals that 40 percent of transgender

respondents had experienced sexual harassment. Furthermore, 77 percent of transgender people, 49 percent of gay males, and 62.5 percent of lesbians identified that their job applications were rejected because of their sexuality. Consequently, the majority of LGBT workers choose to conceal their sexual identity and orientation to secure their jobs and to progress in their careers (ILO, 2013).

This section has reviewed the situation of gender inequality in Thailand and it has illustrated that gender inequality remains a critical issue. The prevalence of gender inequalities is multifaceted and relates to various forms of explicit and implicit discrimination. This situation leaves a question for this research as to how Thailand's gender mainstreaming policy recognises and can respond to this complexity of gender inequality in Thai society.

3.3 Women's movement in Thailand

Understanding who is involved in the women's movement in Thailand helps to establish an initial comprehension of policy actors for this study. From the literature, it suggests that the main groups that have been influential in raising women's rights and gender equality agenda in Thailand include women's organisations, feminist academics and the governmental women's machinery.

An emergence of women's organisations and feminist academics suggests an interrelation with the development of democracy. Since the reformation from the absolute monarchy to the constitutional monarchy in 1932, Thailand has experienced a prolonged and unfinished process of democratisation, which has been sporadically interrupted by military coups. During the development of democracy, space has gradually been provided for the women's movement to ascend. The democratisation has generated a public space and opened up an opportunity for different groups of people, including women, to express and communicate their specific needs and problems based on their perspectives and experience (Songsamphan, 2010). This space has led to the growth of women's associations after the reformation of the country (Satha-anand, 2004; OWF and WYSP, 2009).

The first Thai women's association, Thai Women's Association of Siam, was registered in 1932 after Thailand's democracy reformation. One of its key objectives is to establish unity among women and to provide additional education for women and assistance for women workers including sex workers (Satha-anand, 2004; Falk, 2010). Despite this association, many other professional associations for women have been established aiming to increase the status of women in Thai society, for instance, the Women's Lawyer Association, and Women Nurse Association (Satha-anand, 2004; OWF and WYSP, 2009). However, it is noticeable that the women's movement in this period tends to be linked with elite women who have a high educational, economic, and social status.

The uprising of the students' movement of the 1970s against the dictatorship again triggered a women's movement, particularly the establishment of women's NGOs, and feminist academics (Songsamphan, 2011). This students' movement had an agenda to build an equitable society including women's rights. After the 6th October 1976 massacre, some of the students in the movement took refuge in Western countries to pursue their studies at Western institutions, and some fled to the jungle. Once the country had stabilised, they returned to society as academics, activists, and in non-governmental organisations. Their return boosts the supportive climate for the women's movement (Satha-anand, 2004; Songsamphan, 2011). One example is the formation of Friends of Women (Klum Phuean Ying), which is a collaboration of university lecturers, researchers, journalists, and trades unions to establish a women's information centre to discuss the situation of discriminations against women and strengthen the women's network (Tantiwiramanond, 2007). In the 1980s and 1990s, numbers of women's NGOs, for example, Friends of Women Foundation, Foundation for Women, Gender and Development Institution were established. These NGOs focus on a wide range of specific women's issues based on their interests and the aim of organisations, for example, giving legal advice to women, providing support for a specific group of women such as sex workers, establishing an emergency home for women, and promoting women's political participation (Satha-anand, 2004; OWF and WYSP, 2009). During this period, the studies programmes and research related to women' issues have been growing with the financial and technical support of the transnational organisations and governments (Tantiwiramanond, 2007). Finally, the

full programme of Women's Studies has been established in Thailand at two universities, Thammasat and Chiang Mai University in 2002, to produce and introduce knowledge relating to women's and gender issues into the society (Tantiwiramanond, 2007; OWF and WYSP, 2009).

In the public sector, the formation and the status of the national women's machinery show a connection with the influence of the international women's movement and the stability of politics in Thailand. After the UN declared the International Year of Women in 1975 and the Decade for Women, the Thai government initial established a temporary committee on Planning for Women and Children's Development in 1978 to plan the direction of women's advancement in Thailand (Satha-anand, 2004). However, due to the instability of Thai politics caused by the periodic military coups, the temporary committees were always dissolved when the cabinet was changed (OWF and WYSP, 2009). Finally, the permanent National Women's Machinery (NWM), the National Commission on Women's Affairs (NCWA), chaired by the Prime Minister or designated Deputy Prime Minister, and the Office of the NCWA (ONCWA) under the Office of Prime Minister as the secretariat, was established in 1989. The NCWA has an advisory status to the Prime Minister; the main role is to coordinate and support activities to promote women's advancement (RTG, 1999). The establishment of the NCWA and the ONCWA has strengthened Thailand's women's movement by collaborating with the non-governmental organisations, women's networks, academics and private sectors to work together (OWF and WYSP, 2009).

The structure of the NWM has been adjusted over time. Based on the influence of the BPDA, the status of the ONCWA was elevated from a unit to a division (Tantiwiramanond, 2007). Later, due to the restructuring of all bureaucratic systems influenced by the New Public Management ideology, all ministries and departments were restructured including the ONCWA. The NWM was reformed by transferring all responsibilities and human resources from three organisations, which were the ONCWA; a division of the Public Welfare Department; and a unit of the Community Development Department, to the new NWM (RTG, 2004). This NWM is named the Office of Women Affairs and Family Development (OWF), which sits under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security in 2002 (RTG, 2004). The OWF

was later restructured and then renamed as the Department of Women's Affairs and Family Development (DWF). One of its responsibilities is to promote women's advancement and gender equality (DWF, 2016).

From the literature review, it suggests that remarkably when women's groups, academics and the government sector collaborate to push women's agenda under the auspices of a democratic atmosphere, the advancement of women's rights is relatively high. A good example is the raising of the women's agenda in the draft Constitution of 1997, when women's groups, academics and the NWM worked jointly to form the Women's Network and Constitution (OWF and WYSP, 2009). This collaboration resulted in the clause regarding the notion of equality between women and men being brought back into the constitution; this notion had been vanished since 1974. Moreover, the state responsibility for the protection of women from domestic violence and discrimination was stipulated in Section 53 in this constitution (Buranajaroenkij, 2017). This highlights a necessity for this study to investigate the interrelation and the connections between these policy actors in driving gender mainstreaming.

However, the women's movement in Thailand is criticised for its dependency on liberal feminism. The women's movement emphasises establishing equality in legal aspects more than highlighting the interrelation of gender inequality with the political and social dimensions, for example, political conflicts, and the persistent stereotyping of women within education and media (Songsamphan, 2011). Furthermore, the Thai feminist movement tends to incline towards the Western worldview and body of knowledge with less awareness of the Thai context. As Tantiwiramanond (2007) indicates that the feminist movement in Thailand brings the Western concept of feminism to read and interpret Thai society, particularly when it comes to the nature of local discourses, which lean heavily on western texts, languages, and concepts. Nevertheless, later studies suggest that the Thai women's movement is attempting to morph the western perspective within local contexts into consideration suitable for the Thai particularity in order to reduce a resistance towards feminism (Songsamphan, 2011; Buranajaroenkij, 2017).

The women's movement in Thailand also faces challenges. As discussed in Section 3.2, patriarchy is entrenched in every aspect of peoples' lives, the patriarchal norms also obstruct the women's movement. The common perception, particularly among influential technocrats, is that Thai women's status has been much better than those in other societies, and gender equality is, therefore, not a critical issue (Satha-anad, 2004; Bhongsvej, 2009). This attitude has blocked the progress of the women's agenda in policy and legal processes (Satha-anand, 2004). Furthermore, the women's movement tends to be misinterpreted as misandry, this generates a resistance towards the feminist movement (Songsamphan, 2011). The challenge of the women's movement is also involved with the structure of the NWM, the leading government sector tasked with moving forward on the women's and gender equality agenda. The current structure of the NWM, relying on the ministerial administration, is less flexible and contradicts the nature of the women's movement which needs promptly to respond to evolving situations of gender inequality (Buranajaroenkij, 2017). Additionally, the restructuring of the NWM from being located under the supervision of the Prime Minister's Office to under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security reduces the authority of the NWM in carrying out its efforts towards the coordination of gender mainstreaming across all sectors (CEDAW Committee, 2006). These challenges will be further explored in this study.

This section has provided an historical overview to the understanding of who is involved in the process of the women's movement and its interrelation with the national politics and international influences. These policy actors will be further investigated in this study to see if they are involved or have influence, and how they interact in the movement of gender mainstreaming.

3.4 Gender equality: Thailand's legal perspectives

Law and state regulations are the products of social economic and cultural change (Pruekpongsawalee, 2004). To understand how the notion of gender equality is developed, the literature review explores Thai laws, particularly the constitution which is the uppermost law of the country. A review of Thailand's constitutions suggests that the notion of gender equality in Thai laws has developed from the idea of equal treatment, then to specific intervention, the state's obligation to bring in a

gender perspective, and to an inclusion of the non-binary concept. Furthermore, it suggests a close relation between the growth of gender equality and the influence of Western institutions, and with the development of democracy in Thailand; in the same way as these influences affect the progress of the women's movement.

The principle of equal rights initially appeared in the first Constitution of Thailand in 1932, promulgated after the Siamese Revolution to transform the country from an absolute monarchy into a constitutional monarchy (Pruekpongsawalee, 2004; OWF and WYSP, 2009). The 1932 Constitution stipulates that men and women have equal rights to vote and to run for office in the national elections. The granting of this right could be explained by the linkage with the influence of Western institutions. One reason is that most of the promoters of the revolution were educated from Western institutions especially in Europe, for example, France and the UK where the right to equal suffrage had been widely campaigned for by women's movements during the late 1890s and 1900s. However, as mentioned, the Thai democratic path has been uneven, sporadically interrupted by a series of military coups. The military seizure events always result in the abolition of constitutions, including the 1932 Constitution (OWF and WYSP, 2009). The repeal of this Constitution swept the notion of gender equality away from the Thai Constitution for almost 40 years. This idea was enshrined again in the 10th Constitution in 1974, after the student's movement against the dictatorship (Songsamphan, 2010). Nevertheless, due to the further coup in 1976, the clause which stated the equal rights between women and men disappeared.

The principle of the equal rights was enshrined again in the 16th Constitution in 1997. This Constitution was drafted after the 1992 May's bloody crackdown by the military government against pro-democracy demonstrators, in which the aftermath of this situation overthrew the military government (OWF and WYSP, 2009). The 1997 Constitution is recognised as the people's constitution because the Constitution was drafted through public hearings processes and by the Drafting Assembly members who came from the election process (Aphornsuvan, 2001). This Constitution retains the notion of the equal rights of women and men, and specifies that discrimination based on sexes is prohibited. More importantly, the Constitution shows a shift of the notion of gender equality by highlighting a specific intervention as it states:

> Measures determined by the State in order to eliminate an obstacle to or to promote persons' ability to exercise their rights or liberties on the same basis as others shall not be deemed as unjust discrimination. (Article 30, paragraph 4)

The clause above implies that the Thai state recognises that only equal rights are not sufficient to promote gender equality, but that the state has an obligation to provide specific interventions for those who are marginalised to be able to enjoy their rights. One explanation of the expanding of the concept of gender equality in this Constitution is to be in accordance with CEDAW Article 4, which highlights the obligation of State to provide a special measure to tackle discrimination against women (RTG, 1999). However, the 1997 Constitution was again abolished by the military junta in 2006.

Currently, Thailand is under the 20th Constitution, promulgated in 2017. The principle of equal rights for men and women and the specific intervention remain postulated. Interestingly, the new focus of gender equality is highlighted in Article 71, which specifies the state's obligation in mainstreaming a gender perspective into the government budget allocation. This Article illustrates a development of the notion of gender equality by indicating the state's responsibility for gender mainstreaming in their fiscal considerations.

Even though many versions of the Thai constitution have highlighted the principle of gender equality, the implementation of this principle is subject to specific laws and regulations (Pruekpongsawalee, 2004). Thailand did not have a specific law to protect and promote gender equality until the enactment of the Gender Equality Act in 2015. One reason for formulating this Act is to be compliant with the CEDAW committee's suggestion for the Thai government to establish a specific protection against gender discrimination (RTG, 2015). The substance of this Act is to prohibit state, private and individual discrimination based on gender. Under this law, it provides a channel for those who face gender-based discrimination to submit a petition to the committee to investigate (Article 3 - 16). Importantly, this Act illustrates the expansion of the concept of gender equality in Thai law, by not limiting equality to the female-male binary

description. The act clearly states that "gender" includes 'male, female, or a different appearance from his/her own sex by birth' (Article 3). This explanation of "gender" illustrates the expansion of the Thai legal perspective to recognise the concept of non-binary by including a spectrum of gender identities.

However, having a clause in the Constitution and a specific law regarding gender equality does not guarantee practice. As Pruekpongsawalee (2004: 91) suggests, there must be an awareness of the distinction between 'law-in-book' and 'law-in-action'. As discussed in Section 3.2, gender inequality remains a critical issue and the establishment of law does not guarantee the elimination of the patriarchy embedded in the social, political, and economic aspects of Thai life. Therefore, the study seeks to investigate further how the concept of gender equality is understood and practiced by policy actors.

3.5 Thailand's policy paradigms: From women's issues to gender mainstreaming

In reviewing Thailand's policy paradigms on the notion of gender equality, the review focuses on Thailand's national development plans. The reason is that these plans are the key overarching directive policy for the formulation of other policies and plans in Thailand. To date, Thailand has twelve National Economic and Social Development Plans (NESDP). Based on the review, it suggests that the paradigm of women's and gender issues in these plans can be divided into four perspectives. These are bringing women in, perceiving women as a target group, tackling gender hierarchy, and mainstreaming a gender perspective.

Due to the assumption that women have been invisible from the country's development agenda, the paradigm of "bringing women in" into Thai policy originated. This idea connects with the notion of Women in Development (WID) in the global movement, which has been discussed in Chapter 2. Women's issues have been obviously brought into the Thai national policy since the Third NESDP (1972-1976). This NESDP highlights the issues of women regarding family planning and childcare. This focus illustrates that the Thai government perceives women' issues by linking to women's sexual reproductive roles being attached to their biological sex (Thaweesit, 2011). The later NESDPs show an attempt of the Thai state to bring

women's issues into policy in a more active manner. The Fourth (1977 - 1981) and the Fifth (1982 - 1986) NESDPs observed women as a resource for the country's economic development and stressed a need for empowering women's economic potential in being a part of country development. These plans aimed to enhance women's education, provide occupational training for women, and amend discriminatory laws against women (NESDB, 1977; 1982).

From the Sixth NESDP (1987-1991), it illustrates a change from simply bringing in women's issues; women are perceived as target groups in the development process. Consequently, the women's development plan has been formulated as a separate plan from the main NESDP (OWF and WYSP, 2009). However, this separation was widely criticised by the women's movement that this approach excluded women from the mainstream country development rather than being assimilated into all parts of the country's economic and social development (OWF and WYSP, 2009). Furthermore, the First Long-Term Women Development Plan (1982 - 2001) also established. Different groups of women are identified including women in the agricultural sector, women outside the agricultural sector, women in civil services and state enterprises, nuns, women in sub-cultures, women in sexual services, and incarcerated women (NCWA, 1982). The classification of women would suggest that the Thai government perceives women as a non-homogeneous group who need different interventions. The particular right of women is specifically highlighted in the Eight Women's Development Plan (1997 - 2001), for instance, the right to live free from violence and discrimination against women and the state's obligation to guarantee this right. However, the policy paradigms regarding "bringing women in" and "treating women as a specific target group" does not tackle the core patriarchy. These plans simply empower women to adjust themselves to be compatible with the mainstreaming development without an attempt to fix the unequal gender relation structure of society (Thaweesit, 2011).

Consequently, the Thai policy paradigm has altered again to highlight the importance of the elimination of gender hierarchies. This perspective is associated with the notion of gender mainstreaming, which roots in the idea of Gender and Development (GAD) envisioning the transformation of gender hierarchy, as discussed in Section 2.2. This idea has been portrayed in the Thai policy since the Tenth Women's Development

Plan (2007 - 2011), aiming to promote attitude change towards gender equality, increase women's participation in political decision making, improve access to health care services and reproductive rights, and enhance women's economic participation (OWF, 2007). Men are also included in this plan as an agent of change of traditional gender roles, especially within the family and household. Tackling gender hierarchies has underpinned the paradigms of subsequent Thai policies. Currently, under the twelfth plan called Strategies for Women's Development (2017 - 2021), the Thai policy paradigm keeps emphasising the changing of attitudes of society towards gender equality, empowering women in participation at all levels and increasing enablers for women's advancement, as well as developing legislative and protective measures for women (DWF, 2017a). Furthermore, this plan has added a new focus on the strengthening of the women's mechanisms at all levels, which is one of twelve critical areas of concern in the BDPA to mainstream a gender perspective.

The evolution of the Thai policy perspectives from "bringing women in" to "mainstreaming a gender perspective" is more significant when the Thai State formulate the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 on the Implementation on the Promotion of Equality between Women and Men [literal translation]. This Cabinet Resolution is an important policy in establishing collective responses from all government agencies towards integrating a gender perspective into policies and practice at all levels to promote gender equality (Bhongsvej, 2009; OWF and WYSP, 2009; Yamnin et al., 2011).

3.6 The Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001: Integrating a gender perspective into Thai policies and agencies

As the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 is the only significant policy bringing a notion of gender mainstreaming into practice, this thesis focuses on examining this policy in particular. Key essences of this Cabinet Resolution are related to the establishment of gender equality mechanisms, including the Chief Gender Equality Officers (CGEOs) and the Gender Focal Points (GPFs). Furthermore, this policy stipulates that all governmental agencies shall formulate a strategic plan for mainstreaming a gender perspective in their organisations (SoC, 2001). Additionally,

the Office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) is authorised to define the roles and responsibilities of the CGEOs and GFPs.

This Cabinet Resolution generates the subsequent policy on gender mainstreaming, which is the OCSC Circular Letter No. 0708/ว3, Dated 11/04/2002 on the Qualifications of CGEOs and GFPs. This Circular Letter defines that the CGEOs shall be a government official holding a position as a head or a deputy-head in departmental government agencies. CGEOs shall also complete the training course on Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Advocacy organised by the ONCWA (the NWM at that time) within one year of being designated into this position. The responsibilities of CGEOs involve promoting gender equality in their agencies by initiating activities to raise awareness of gender issues, establishing networks on gender equality promotion between governmental agencies, monitoring the implementation of the GFPs, and managing human resources. These are the tasks to guarantee the principle of equality and human rights (OCSC, 2002). As regards GFPs, the Circular Letter stipulates that all government agencies shall establish a unit to act as a GFP to promote gender equality and integrate gender perspectives into their departments' routine work (OWF, 2012). The GFPs also have a role in formulating a strategic plan on gender equality and setting up committees to monitor and evaluate the results of the implementation of this plan. They were also required to report the progress of the implementation to the OCSC who would then report to the Cabinet (OCSC, 2002).

However, noticeably, what is actually meant by gender mainstreaming and how a gender perspective is mainstreamed are ambiguous in the policy documents. Neither the Cabinet Resolution nor the subsequent Circular Letter provide a clear explanation of meaning and definitions, or state clearly what needs to be done to achieve gender equality. The policy only places a focus on the establishment of the mechanisms for gender equality in civil services and the formulation of the strategic plan for gender equality in departments and ministries. The issues of how this policy is understood and why the focus has been placed only in the bureaucratic systems are a further area of investigation for this study.

3.7 Distinct models of gender mainstreaming in Thailand

When examining the relatively limited debates and studies regarding gender mainstreaming in the Thai context, explanations of gender mainstreaming can be differentiated into two main models: policy process and transformative process models. The first model interprets gender mainstreaming as a policy process by emphasising the integration of a gender perspective into governmental agencies' policy cycles (Boonsue, 2004; Yapparat; 2006; Prompunthum, 2008). The integration of gender perspectives is implemented through the use of instruments such as sex-disaggregated data, gender analysis, and gender budgeting (Prompunthum, 2008; OWF, 2005). This model perceives gender mainstreaming as a linear process, which is to include (1) sex-disaggregated data collection to analyse the impacts on projects and programmes on women; (2) policy planning by using gender analysis to plan programmes and projects aiming at establishing gender equality; (3) policy implementation; (4) monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of programmes and projects to analyse the extent of achievements of such programmes and projects; (5) sharing of lessons learned for further improvement (Boonsue, 2004).

The second model gives a wider explanation than the first model by expanding the notion of the policy process to highlight the transformative outcomes of gender mainstreaming. As Dendoung (2007) and Bhongvej (2011) suggest, gender mainstreaming is a transformative process for changing attitudes, beliefs and the culture of unbalanced gender relations in organisations and society. To achieve transformation, the technocratic tools still need to be applied into the organisational policies, plans, and practice. Furthermore, government officials and target groups must be trained to understand and have awareness of gender equality. The essence of this model is that policies and practices must support the transformation of gender relations and dismantle gender discrimination in social structures to promote gender equality as well as synergise the networks to build up knowledge (Dendoung, 2007).

Due to the ambiguity of the gender mainstreaming policy and the different explanations of this concept, one focus of this research explores how policy actors have interpreted, understood and implemented this notion.

3.8 Gender mainstreaming in practice: Enablers and barriers in Thai institutions

Understanding the intersection between facilitators and barriers as well as the nature of the implementation of gender mainstreaming is essential to analysis and critiques of policy movement when it enters into the new setting. Current studies in the Thai context suggest that enablers and barriers are overlapped, when there is insufficient attention given to any of the supporting factors, they become barriers to the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Key enablers and barriers of gender mainstreaming can be summarised in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Enablers and barriers of the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Thai institutions

Studies related to gender mainstreaming in Thailand			Sriroth (2004)	Thong-nual (2005)	Yap-parat (2006)	Prompun-thum (2008)	Bhongsvej (2009)	Yamnin et al. (2010)	OWF and CPCS (2011)	Kaewkong (2013)	Saiyanitee (2014)
Internal organisational factors											
Aspects		**Issues**									
People	Barriers	Lack of political will of officials, particularly executives	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Insufficient knowledge and capacities of staff on gender mainstreaming, e.g, sex-disaggregated data collection, gender analysis			✓	✓					✓
		A negative attitude of staff towards gender issues, e.g. gender equality is not a problem.	✓		✓		✓	✓			
	Enablers	Having good intention and perspective of officials towards gender equality promotion				✓		✓		✓	
Policy	Barriers	Lack of clear policy direction from executives				✓					
		Focusing only on mainstreaming a gender perspective in human resource management	✓	✓			✓				
		Highly subjective of gender mainstreaming policy					✓	✓			

Studies related to gender mainstreaming in Thailand			Sriroth (2004)	Thong-nual (2005)	Yap-parat (2006)	Prompun-thum (2008)	Bhongsvej (2009)	Yamnin et al. (2010)	OWF and CPCS (2011)	Kaewkong (2013)	Saiyanitee (2014)
	Enablers	Having clear policies and guidance within organisations		✓				✓			✓
		Having knowledge and coordination skill of staff					✓	✓			
Management	Barriers	Frequent rotation of staff impacting on the continuity of implementation				✓	✓	✓			✓
		Centralisation of gender mainstreaming in central government							✓		
		Treat gender issues as less priority issue	✓				✓	✓			
		Insufficient budget				✓	✓	✓			
	Enabler	Establishing a unit, a committee for gender mainstreaming						✓			
		Providing sufficient budget								✓	
External organisational factors											
The Role of the NWM	Barriers	Lack of technical support from the NWM and the NWM staff have limited knowledge of gender issues				✓		✓			
		Training sessions organised by the NWM does not relate to the practice			✓			✓			

Studies related to gender mainstreaming in Thailand			Sriroth (2004)	Thong-nual (2005)	Yap-parat (2006)	Prompun-thum (2008)	Bhongsvej (2009)	Yamnin et al. (2010)	OWF and CPCS (2011)	Kaewkong (2013)	Saiyanitee (2014)
		The NWM does not take a catalyst role					✓	✓			
	Enabler	The NWM provides support on budget, training, and speakers, and study trip					✓	✓			
System	Barrier	Lack of effective monitoring system					✓	✓			
Legal framework	Enabler	Having a legal framework related to gender equality issues, e.g., constitution, international agreements					✓	✓		✓	

Sources: Author's Synthesis from Sriroth (2004); Thongnual (2005); Yapparat (2006); Prompunthum (2008); Bhongvej (2009); Yamnin et al. (2010); OWF and CPCS (2011); Kaewkong (2013); and Saiyanitee (2014)

Table 3.1 illustrates that enablers and barriers to the implementation of gender mainstreaming can be differentiated into internal and external organisational factors. The common internal organisational obstacles to gender mainstreaming, found across studies, relates to negative attitude towards gender issues of the policy actors involved as well as the lack of political will, particularly amongst executives. In contrast, when officials have a positive perspective towards gender equality promotion, and have knowledge and understanding of gender mainstreaming, these strengthen the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Regarding external organisational factors, a shared enabler is having a legal framework to support the work of gender mainstreaming and gender equality, for example, constitution and international agreements. Many studies jointly indicate that the role of the NWM is crucial in moving gender mainstreaming forward. When the NWM fails to perform their catalyst role in providing technical support to the GFPs, this hinders the work of GFP on gender mainstreaming. However, according to the existing literature, it can be also seen that the existing studies have tended to emphasise the organisational supporting and hindering factors affecting the implementation of gender mainstreaming. This limited focus highlights a need for this thesis to further examine whether other factors such as conceptualisation, the interaction of policy actors, or the international-national-implementation interconnectivity also have an impact on the embedding of gender mainstreaming in Thailand.

3.9 Studies on gender mainstreaming and gaps in existing research

In conducting research, it is important to understand how the existing literature in a specific area and context are studied so that the new study can contributes towards filling the gap in knowledge. As mentioned, the topic of gender mainstreaming in Thailand is under-explored. Most studies tend to investigate gender mainstreaming by examining only part of the policy process, especially the implementation process, for example, investigating obstacles to gender mainstreaming in a specific agency (Yapparat, 2006; Prompunthum, 2008; Yamnin et al., 2010). However, few studies investigate beyond the implementation of policy by connecting other parts of the policy process into their study of gender mainstreaming. For instance, Bhongsvej (2009) examines the formation and the implementation of the government's policy on gender mainstreaming in the Thai Civil Service. These existing studies show a limited

consideration of policy as a continuous process. Moreover, it illustrates an inadequate explanation of an interaction of policy process across scales and spaces, in particular the ways in which the formation of gender mainstreaming at the international scale is related or impacts on the policy process of gender mainstreaming in Thailand.

The target group of the majority of the studies have emphasised only bureaucratic actors, particularly CGEOs and GFP staff. For instance, examining factors impacting on gender mainstreaming in human resource management in the Ministry of Labour (Sriroth, 2004), or investigating the perspective of the CEGOs and GFPs on the implementation of the gender mainstreaming mechanisms (Saiyanitee, 2014). Consequently, the scope of inquiry has been limited only to governmental institutions in a particular organisation. This limitation has been highlighted by some researchers who suggest that the study of gender mainstreaming should include other actors, for example, civil society, NGOs, and educational institutions (Bhongsvej, 2009) and local government (Kaewkong, 2011). These gaps show a necessity for the inclusion of other policy actors such as NGOs and academics who are the part of women's movement in Thailand into the study of gender mainstreaming in order to provide a broader picture.

The conventional analytical framework for gender mainstreaming studies also relies extensively on organisational theories such as behavioural analysis (Sriroth, 2004), change management and organisational analysis (Yamnin et al., 2010; Keawkong, 2013). Only few studies have applied a policy analysis framework to the investigation of gender mainstreaming, for instance a policy formation and policy implementation framework (Bhongsvej, 2009). This would suggest that most gender mainstreaming is examined as a part of an organisational or policy process and separated from the feminist approaches which underpin the notion of gender mainstreaming. This is problematic for Verloo (2001), who suggests that the practice and the theory of gender mainstreaming are connected, and that the guiding vision regarding the influence of the feminist movement in taking forward gender mainstreaming should not be lost. This suggestion draws an attention for this study in bringing postcolonial feminist perspective.

Based on the identified gaps discussed above, this research seeks to explore the continuous process of gender mainstreaming in motion by observing the international-national-implementation scalar connectivity since the initial formation of gender mainstreaming. It also plots the constant movement and embeddedness of gender mainstreaming into the Thai setting as well as the roles influence and power relations of multiple policy actors. To achieve this investigation, this research examines the multi-scales and multi-actors through an innovative framework which draws together upon postcolonial feminist, policy transfer, and policy translation perspectives. This conceptual framework will be articulated further and mapped out in the following chapters.

Chapter 4
Tripartite Conceptual Framework:
Postcolonial Feminism, Policy Transfer and Policy Translation

4.1 Introduction

The conceptual framework guides a researcher to examine and explain the research problems of the study (Liehr and Smith, 1999). As discussed in the introduction, the conceptual framework of this study brings together postcolonial feminism and policy analysis approaches, which are policy transfer and policy translation. As postcolonial feminism has been initially discussed in Chapter 2, this chapter begins by explaining why policy moves and how policy movement is studied based on the different epistemological paradigms. Followed by the discussion of policy transfer, the chapter describes the key concepts and the critiques of policy transfer. This chapter then provides an explanation of policy translation, considering the key analytical components and limitations of this approach. Leading on from this, the chapter builds up the tripartite analytical framework for this study, drawing upon the keys aspects of postcolonial feminism, policy transfer and policy translation as complementary approaches to the examination of the travel of gender mainstreaming into Thailand.

4.2 Policy movement and two paradigms underpinning policy movement studies

In the contemporary policy world, policy in motion has been become very common (McCann and Ward, 2010). The occurrence and the development of transnational processes, institutions, and communities together generate global policy paradigms which travel across sites, countries, political systems, and languages (Kennett and Lendvai, 2014; Mukhtarov, 2014; Clarke et al. 2015). The opportunity for the travel of policy has burgeoned because of the change of international and domestic structures and the emergence of new technology (Evans, 2004). International structural change, for example geo-political integration and the changing financial markets, have had an impact on the formation of policies in domestic settings (Evans, 2004). In domestic settings, the adjustment of national governments to the new form of governance, for instance, privatisation and decentralisation, gives an opportunity for policy learning. Furthermore, new technology such as electronic data management, has played a part in

the work of public organisations leading to an increase in and the spread of innovative policies or methods to deliver public goods (Evans, 2004). New communication technology through websites and blogs has also triggered the rapid transmission of ready-made policies or best practices (McCann and Ward: 2010).

The study of policy movement is rich in distinct terminologies and approaches which have been established by scholars, for example, policy diffusion (Walker, 1969), lesson drawing (Rose, 1991), policy convergence (Bennett,1991), policy transfer (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996, 2000; Evans and Davies, 1999; Evans, 2004; Dussage-Laguna, 2012), policy assemblage (Allen and Cochrane, 2010; McCann and Ward, 2012), policy mobility and policy mutation (Peck and Theodore, 2010b; Peck, 2011; McCann and Ward, 2012; Temenos and McCann, 2013) and policy translation (Lendvai and Stubbs, 2007; Clarke et al., 2015). Based on these diverse terminologies, this study interchangeably employs the terms "policy movement" and "policy travel" when referring to the overall process once a policy is moved from one setting to another. These chosen terms are considered as being the appropriate terms for this study because the study seeks to combine distinct approaches to explain the whole process when gender mainstreaming is introduced and moved into the Thai setting. The terms provide an impartial perspective which does not contain any connotation of any specific transnational or transboundary policy analysis approaches, as outlined above. Scholars such as Mukhtarov (2014) also uses the term 'the travel of ideas' and Spicker (2015) adopts the terms 'the process of movement' when they generally refer to an occurrence when policy ideas are moved across countries or political systems.

The diverse terminologies and approaches of policy movement studies have been categorised based on two epistemological foundations: a positivist/rationalist paradigm, and a constructivist/relationalist perspective (Peck, 2011; Mukhtarov, 2014). The mainstream study of policy movement is developed within political science and adheres to the positivist/rational paradigm (Peck, 2011; Clarke et al, 2015). Positivism advocated the application of objectivity in studying the social reality, which is out there and waiting to be found (Bryman, 2012, Hesse-Biber, 2017). Under this epistemology, policy is perceived as a sequential diffusion (Peck, 2011). For example, policy diffusion as suggested by Walker (1969) examines the spread of policies to the

US federal system (Stone, 2012). The idea of lesson drawing by Rose (1991) focuses on the rational and action-oriented perspective of policy actors towards the adoption of policy from other settings. Policy convergence by Bennett (1991) highlights the study of policy similarities over time, which can occur through emulation, harmonisation, and domination. Policy transfer developed by Dolowitz and Marsh (1996; 2000) provides a set of questions for analysing the process in which knowledge from one setting is used in the development of policy in another setting.

In contrast, the policy movement approaches derived from constructivism/ relationalism argue that the positivist/rationalist approach simply perceive policy as a linear process, which assumes that policy can be easily diffused, lesson learned, and transferred simply from one to another floating setting (Lendvai, and Stubbs, 2007; Peck, 2011; Needham, 2012; Clarke et al., 2015). The constructivist/relationalist paradigm believes in multiple realities, which are constructed by various individuals (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014). Therefore, these approaches advocate that policy should be perceived as a construction, not an object (Clarke et al. 2015). During the movement process, a policy may become incoherent, converted and translated in different ways (Griggs and Howarth, 2011; Clarke et al., 2015). Consequently, various unorthodox policy movement approaches have been introduced by emphasising the complexity, fluidity and dynamics when policy travels (McCann and Ward, 2012; Peck and Theodore, 2010a; Prince, 2010; Clarke et al., 2015). For example, policy translation offers an idea for seeing policy as meaning, expressed through the languages when policy travels across space and time, until policy assemblages and reassembles (Freeman, 2009; Lendvai and Stubbs, 2007; Clarke et al, 2015). Developed in geographical studies, policy mobility and policy mutation (Peck and Theodore, 2010b; Peck, 2011; Temenos and McCann, 2013) and policy assemblage (Allen and Cochrane, 2010; Prince, 2010) offer an interrogation of policy regarding the spatial and temporal factors where policy actors interact, and the impacts of these factors on embeddedness of policy on the ground. Furthermore, fast policy suggested by Peck (2015) highlights the investigation the social embeddedness and the institutionalisation of the rapid diffusion of policy.

Both epistemological paradigms in policy movement studies have differing benefits and drawbacks. The positivist/rationalist approach assists in reifying features of policy movement (Peck, 2011). They provide a descriptive and prescriptive analysis (Evans, 2004). However, the positivist/rationalist approach cannot explain the complexity and diversity aspects when policy travels, for instance, the hybridisation between outside and local versions of policy knowledge and the convergence at different scales of policy movement (Heichel et al., 2005). In contrast, the constructivist/relationalist approach offer an in-depth understanding by explaining an interconnection and continuous process of policy movement as well as providing a contextual sensitivity analysis (Marsh and Sharman, 2009; Peck, 2011; Spicker, 2015). However, as the constructivist/relationalist approach generally investigates a limited number of cases, this reduces the potential for the generalisation of this approach (Marsh and Sharman, 2009).

As such, in studying gender mainstreaming which rapidly travels and shifts from supranational level to other spheres of policy making jurisdictions (Paterson, 2010; Payne, 2014), this study advocates that adopting both paradigms as complementary will advance existing knowledge of the study of the movement of gender mainstreaming. The study has selected policy transfer from the positivist/rationalist perspective and policy translation from the constructivist/relationalist paradigm as an analytical lens to interrogate the travel of gender mainstreaming into Thailand. The next section will provide more detail of these distinct approaches.

4.3 Positivist/rationalist policy movement approach: Policy transfer

Policy transfer refers to ‘a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institution move from one policy setting or time to another setting or time’ (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 344). This approach aims to provide an understanding of the process of the movement of policy ideas from one setting to another setting or other settings of governance (Evans, 2004; 2009). Policy transfer is selected in this study because this approach has organised a fragmented literature into a coherent explanation for the transnational policy analysis (Evans, 2004). Policy transfer is a ‘broad umbrella’ for related concepts of policy movement, particularly from a positivist/rationalist paradigm, and incorporates ‘a continuum’ of the wide ranging

forms of policy movement such as policy diffusion (Walker, 1969), policy band-waggoning (Ikenberry,1990), policy convergence (Bennett, 1991), and lesson-drawing (Rose, 1993) (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Evans, 2004; Cairney, 2012; Carroll, 2014; McCarthy-Jones and Turner, 2015).

Being rooted in positivism/rationalism, policy transfer attempts to provide a rigid set of questions to explain the process during which policies move between jurisdictions, transfer agents and transnational networks involved in the process (Stone 2000, 2001, 2004). A practical framework for policy transfer analysis has been developed by Dolowitz and Marsh, based on the grounds that a conceptual framework facilitates the advancement of the concept and the understanding of policy transfer. Their framework consists of a set of interrogations: (1) 'Why do actors engage in policy transfer?' (2) 'Who are the key actors involved in the policy transfer process?' (3) 'What is transferred?' (4) 'From where are lessons drawn?' (5) 'What are the different degrees of policy transfer?' (6) 'What restricts or facilitates the policy transfer process?' (7) 'How is the process of policy transfer related to policy 'success' or 'failure'?' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 344; 2000: 8). This framework is useful for developing the analytical framework for this study to assess the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand. As Dolowitz and Marsh (1996; 2000) suggest, their analytical framework is to provide a heuristic framework for policy transfer, which should be applied as a starting point for the analysts' own studies.

Although, this policy transfer analytical framework offers a starting point for the study of policy movement, scholars have identified gaps and have suggested additional dimensions for strengthening the application of the policy transfer analysis. For instance, Evans and Davies (1999) suggest looking at the multilevel dimensions of policy transfer. Stone (2001) advocates the need to focus on non-state actors. Common (1999), Marsh and Sharma (2009), Dussauge-Laguna (2012), McCarthy-Jones and Turner (2015) stress the importance of examining time and the temporal factors of policy transfer. Additionally, the impact of policy transfer is suggested to be focused on the outputs and the implementation of policy transfer (Evans and Davies, 1999; Cairney, 2012). Again, these aspects of policy transfer benefit this study by developing the analytical framework, which will be discussed in Section 4.5.

However, the value of policy transfer contributing to policy analysis studies is questioned. James and Lodge (2003) claim that policy transfer analysis is not distinctly different from other forms of policy analysis. They are unconvinced that policy transfer advances the previous literature on policy studies. Furthermore, questions of how to assess changes of policy transfer are raised, since failure is simply described as different forms of transfer (James and Lodge, 2003). These claims can be rebutted by the suggestion of Evans and Davies (1999:367) that policy transfer analysis is distinct from day-to-day policy analysis by seeking to study the 'remarkable phenomena' of policy change. The 'day-to-day diffusion' of ideas, knowledge, intent or the change at micro level within organisations, is not included in 'remarkable phenomena' (Evans and Davies, 1999). Furthermore, the aim of policy transfer is to provide an understanding of the process of transfer more than the measurement of changes (Evans and Davies, 1999). These arguments indicate that policy transfer does contribute to policy studies by investigating the process of the remarkable movement of policies, particularly the focus of this study, the movement of gender mainstreaming.

Key elements of policy transfer, which relate to explaining notions of the movement process of gender mainstreaming in Thailand, include: objects of transfer, policy agents, forms and reasons of policy transfer, types of transfer, facilitators and barriers, and the consequences of policy transfer. This study seeks to explain the concept of gender mainstreaming, which is critiqued as a monolith without explanation (Subrahmanain, 2004), by questioning "what is transferred?" in order to reveal elements underpinning this concept as it moves. Policy transfer categorises objects of transfer as 'policy goals, policy content, policy instruments policy programme, institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes, and negative lessons' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000: 12). These elements are further categorised into the forms of 'hard transfers' and 'soft transfers' (Evans and Davies, 1999: 382). Hard transfers refer to the programme and activities of the transfer, while soft transfers are the transfer of ideas, concepts, and attitudes (Evans and Davies, 1999). However, policy transfer tends to pay attention to visible objects or hard transfers, for example, structure and content more than soft transfer (McCann and Ward, 2012; Clarke et al., 2015). This focus shows that policy transfer would only in part provide an explanation of the notion of gender mainstreaming.

This is a reason why policy translation and postcolonial feminism are needed to scrutinise underneath the surface of what are described as "objects" of policy transfer.

Policy transfer places an emphasis on the study of policy actors (Stone, 2001; Evans, 2004). This is a necessary focus in this study as one of the research questions explores policy agents involvement when gender mainstreaming travels. Policy transfer agents are classified as 'elected officials; political parties; bureaucrats/civil servants; pressure groups; policy entrepreneurs/experts; and supranational institutions' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 345). The later development of the explanation of the categories of policy transfer actors pays more attention to non-state actors, for example, transnational corporations, think tanks, supranational non-governmental institutions and consultants (Stone, 1999; 2000; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000). Stone (2001: 16) advocates that the consideration of actors involved in policy transfer should not be focused only on 'official actors' or government. An analysis of policy agents should include 'carriers, exporters and inducers' of policy ideas because policy transfer can be achieved by 'mechanisms embedded in markets and networks as in the hierarchy of states' (Stone, 2001: 16 - 17). Additionally, the actors in policy transfer should be investigated in terms of groups and the relationship between groups that influence the transfer of policy, for instance, a policy transfer network and an ad hoc setting up (Evans and Davies, 1999), or a policy community (Marsh and Rhodes, 1992), or an epistemic community (Adler and Hass, 1992). However, the mainstream policy transfer studies tend to emphasise governmental or formal actors (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; Stone, 2001). The idea of policy agents in policy transfer would help to identify "who" are the policy agents in the movement of gender mainstreaming. Nevertheless, policy transfer is limited in explaining "how" the interaction and the interconnection of policy agents works, which is one aspect that this study attempts to explore.

One of the research questions of this study investigates the reasons for Thai policy actors engaging in the movement of gender mainstreaming. Policy transfer suggests the interconnection between the forms and the reasons of transnational policy movement by highlighting a spectrum of policy transfer which ranges from voluntary to coercive forms (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000). The voluntary transfer occurs when one jurisdiction has a choice as to whether to adopt or reject a policy or a programme (Rogers, 1995).

Voluntary transfer derives from rational choice when policy actors are dissatisfied with a status quo. Therefore, policy makers try to acquire knowledge from what has been practical before, or simply find an effective policy from others to develop their own policies (Rose, 1991; Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). The internal political systems can be a reason that a setting voluntarily accepts policies from other settings. For example, when an election drives candidates to search for new ideas or new policies to compete with others, this can result in transferring policy from others (Polsby, 1984 cited in Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). In contrast, coercion occurs when a government is forced to act against its will by another government or international governments (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; Evan, 2009). This force engenders an obligation on a country to transfer policy into its setting. One example of this direct coercion was seen during the formal imperialism era when a colonised country was forced to make constitutional, political, and social changes, for example, in India, Sri Lanka, or Mexico (Evan, 2009). The enforcement of international laws, for example, UN resolutions, which provide penalties for a country that breaks the law, also trigger the coercive form of policy transfer (Common, 1999). Located at the middle of the continuum between voluntary engagement and coercion, negotiated transfer takes place when a government recognises the necessity for engaging in the process of transferring policies, or the need to gain international acceptance in a way which is suggested by 'powerful' countries or institutions (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Evans, 2009; Cairney, 2012). These 'powerful' countries or institutions are, for example, donor countries, global financial institutions, regional and international organisations (Evans, 2009; Stones, 2012). The negotiated transfer usually trades off with a form of assistance, especially financial aid, such that a recipient country, particularly a developing country inevitably refuses the transfer (Evan, 2009). Based on the reasons and the forms of policy transfer, this study will further investigate if these indications can go towards explaining the movement of gender mainstreaming in Thailand.

The explanation for types of transfer is commonly found in the policy transfer literature. This explanation relates to this research as the study examines how policy agents locate gender mainstreaming in the Thai institutions. Scholars use different terms to describe how policies are transferred, for example, 'type of lesson drawing' (Rose, 1991); 'degrees of transfers' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000); 'process of

policy-oriented learning' (Evans, 2009). However, they suggest slightly different types of category. According to Rose (1991: 21), who initially explains how a lesson is drawn in various ways, which she typifies as 'copying', 'emulation', 'hybridisation', 'synthesis', and 'inspiration'. Copying refers to a way which a country might adopt a programme which is effective in another country as their blueprint without modification. This type of process is rare (Evans, 2009; Marsh and Evans, 2012), but Rose (1991) argues that this type occurs, for instance, the copying of the US earned income tax credit system into the working family tax credit system in the UK. Regarding 'emulation', this type emerges when a country accepts that a policy operating in another country is a standard and draws on that policy when considering their circumstances when transferring (Rose, 1991). For 'hybridisation', it takes place when a government draws a lesson from two different settings, whilst 'synthesis' combines elements of policies and programmes from several settings in adapting policies into another setting (Rose: 1991). The 'inspiration' type refers to when one setting applies an idea from another, to develop its own policy change (Rose, 1991). Dolowitz and Marsh (1996; 2000) and Evans (2009) suggest four types of policy transfer by combining 'hybridisation' and 'synthesis' because these types have a common element. These types are labelled as 'combinations' by Dolowitz and Marsh (1996:351), while the term 'hybridisation' is used by Evans (2009: 246). This study will further observe if the types of policy transfer can explain the nature of the way in which gender mainstreaming is located in the Thai setting.

In understanding the process of the travel of gender mainstreaming in Thailand, examining supporting factors and constraints is necessary to explain the reasons for the embedding and/or disembedding of gender mainstreaming. The policy transfer analysis aims to explain enablers and barriers to the transfer process (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000; Evans, 2004; 2009). However, from the literature, it is unclear how policy transfer studies the supporting factors. Nevertheless, the literature suggested that all facilitators and constraints should be captured from all processes of policy movement as well as 'the political, bureaucratic and economic resources' in the implementation (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 354). Regarding the constraints, Evans (2004: 38) recommends examining 'cognitive and environmental obstacles'. The 'cognitive obstacles', which occurs in the pre-decision phase, relates to the perception

of policy actors and public opinion on the policy problem and transferring policies. It also involves an organisational culture that may resist policy transfer (Evans, 2004; 2009). The 'environmental obstacles', which arise at the implementation level, relate to structural constraints, for example, 'institutional, political, economic and social constraints', and technical implementation constraints such as a lack of technical support and resources that hinder the implementation of policy transfer (Evans, 2009: 246 - 247). However, policy transfer tends to explain the impediments of policy transfer as a separate part between the receptivity of the transfer and the implementation process. As this study seeks to examine the international-national-implementation connectivity process of the movement of gender mainstreaming, a solely policy transfer approach seems to be insufficient to explain this aspect.

This study also seeks to explain the impacts of gender mainstreaming when it is moved to the Thai institutional context, and particularly how this notion is or is not embedded. The emphasis of the policy transfer approach through exploring 'success' or 'failure' would be beneficial for the investigation of this study. Policy transfer scholars hold different views on how to identify the consequences of policy transfer. One suggestion is to focus on the outcome of the transfer process, which can be classified into three types: 'uninformed transfer', 'incomplete transfer', and 'inappropriate transfer' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000: 17). 'Uninformed transfer' refers to the lack of sufficient information in transferring policy. 'Incomplete transfer' explains that the transfer has occurred; however, successful elements of policy innovation, for example, institutional structures, from the originating countries, are not transferred. 'Inappropriate transfer' occurs when the borrowing countries neglect the different political economic and social aspects between the originating countries and the borrowing countries (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000: 17). However, this analytical dimension tends to emphasise only the occurrence of the transfer yet retains a limitation in observing the practice of policy in the new setting. Evans (2009: 246) provides more clarification of the impact of policy transfer by advocating that 'the proof of policy transfer lies in its implementation' and suggests capturing the outcomes of transfer through three forms of changes (Hall, 1993). These changes include the adjustment from a status quo; the change of policy instruments, for instance, the establishment of new institutions and delivery systems; the change of perception underpinning policy, for example,

'ideology, ideas, attitudes and concepts' (Hall, 1993; Evans, 2009: 247). These two different perspectives on examining the 'success' or 'failure' of policy transfer illustrate that policy transfer perceives policy transfer and policy implementation as separate, by looking at 'transfer success and implementation success' (Cairney, 2012: 259). This perspective shows that a policy transfer standpoint views the idea of policy movement in a rigid manner, as simply outputs and outcomes with little awareness of a non-linear and continuous process of policy movement, particularly in the way in which policy is embedded.

Policy transfer is therefore critiqued for paying little attention to the interconnection of the international, national, and local domains (Evans and Davies; 1999; Evans, 2004; 2009). The multilevel analysis is developed to highlight the investigation of policy transfer through combining micro, meso and macro level of inquiry (Evans and Davies, 1999; Evans, 2004). This multilevel approach takes into account of a global level, for example, the international structure and agency of the epistemic community; macro-state level which relates to the relationships between structure and agency; and inter-organisational level where a network of indigenous and exogenous policy transfer impacts on how policy is evaluated and implemented (Evans and Davies ; 1999; Evans, 2004). The multilevel analysis forms a basis for examining the movement of gender mainstreaming at international, national, and implementation levels. However, as this study also adopts a constructivist policy analysis by being aware that such levels are constructed and are not fixed. How to combine the multilevel analysis into this study will be further discussed in Section 4.5.

It can be seen that the key dimensions of policy transfer, discussed above, are able to serve in part as an analytical framework to explain the research questions of this study. One reason is that the nature of the policy transfer approach is mechanical with a set of steps and descriptive guideline (Mukhtarov, 2014; Spicker, 2015). Policy transfer investigates policy movement based on the assumption that policy is intact and is moved in a simple linear manner (Peck, 2011; McCann and Ward, 2012; Clarke et al., 2015; Stone, 2017). This assumption illustrates that policy transfer fails to address the issues of heterogeneity and interdependence from constructivism (Balen and Leyton, 2015; Mukhtarov, 2014). Furthermore, what has been ignored from

policy transfer is the political, social, and institutional context surrounding policy movement (McCann and Ward, 2012). Policy transfer also disregards the close interaction of 'language, culture, power and politics' (Clarke et al., 2015:11). Based on these critiques, policy translation as an unconventional approach to the study of policy movement is also selected for this study; this will be discussed in the next section.

4.4 Constructivist/relationalist policy movement approach: Policy translation

To overcome the shortcomings of the policy transfer approach, and to provide more in-depth explanations for the movement of gender mainstreaming, policy translation is selected because this approach covers all the key contemporary criticisms of policy transfer. Policy translation aims to explain the complexity and contingency of policy, which has been silenced from the traditional approach, at the core of the study of policy movement (Clarke et al., 2015). Policy translation refers to the 'process of modification of policy ideas and creation of new meanings and designs in the process of the cross-jurisdictional travel of policy ideas' (Mukhtarov, 2014: 76). The features of policy translation are 'part policy transfer, part operationalisation, and part implementation' (Spicker, 2015:3).

Policy translation rejects the notion of the linearity of policy transfer and advocates that policy movement is certainly not an automatic or straightforward and taken for granted process as it travels from one setting to another (Latour, 2005; Lendvai and Stubb, 2009; Freeman, 2009; McCann, 2011; Clarke et al., 2015). It is related to meaning which is under construction and never an intact object during its movement (Freeman, 2009; Clarke et al., 2015; Stone, 2017). Policy as translation places an emphasis on a multiplicity of policies: as 'policy travels across languages, sites and scales, it is produced, assembled, enacted and populated differently' (Clarke et al., 2015: 59). Furthermore, unlike the assumption of policy transfer in rationality, policy translation believes in the relational (Lendvai, 2015). It advocates the examination of the complex interactions, manifold factors, and the 'power-laden artefact' (Kingfisher, 2013:3), for example political, social, cultural, institutional, and power aspects which influence when policy travels (McCann and Ward, 2012; Stone, 2012; Mukhtarov, 2014; Clarke et al., 2015).

Key aspects of policy translation, which is vital for developing the analytical framework of this study, include policy as meaning; policy across space, scales and time; performativity and practice.

Policy as meaning is the central and unique aspect of policy translation. This aspect is necessary for explaining the complexity and revealing the ambiguity of the notion of gender mainstreaming when it is moved across international to national settings and across the English to the Thai language. In examining policy as meaning, policy as translation relates to the 'interpretive', 'constructionist /constructivist', 'linguistic', and 'discursive' turns (Clarke et al., 2015). The interpretative turn involves how policy provides values and beliefs over definitions and boundaries (Yanow, 1996). Focusing on an interpretative aspect reveals 'a space between the 'creation', the 'transmission' and the 'interpretations' or 'reception' of policy meaning' (Lendvai and Stubbs, 2007: 175). Policy as meaning-making also pays attention to the construction and reconstruction of meanings (Jenkins, 2007; Clarke et al., 2015). Meanings are multiple which relates to the layers of implicit meaning (Innes, 2002). The multiplicity suggests that one reality cannot be assumed, but that distinct and concurrently existing realities produce practices of policy (Lendvai, 2015; Mellaard and Meiji, 2017). The nature of policy as meaning is constructed, transformed, interpreted, distorted, and altered (Latour, 2005).

More importantly, the meaning of policy interconnects with linguistic turn because policy is made in words and through languages, which are a principle vehicle of communication (Gregory, 2007; Freeman, 2009). Policy translation suggests observing texts and languages in terms of how they provide and contain meanings as well as the interaction and intention underpinning texts and languages (Freeman, 2009). When policy is moved across languages, linguistic diversity has played a role in creating difficulties in translating policy in practice (Lendvai, 2015). As translation into one language from another is 'never innocent', it inherently contains political implications (Hermans, 2000: 14; Freeman, 2009: 434). Examining policy as meaning offers an opportunity for understanding the intention; contestation; power relations; and the construction and reconstruction of the meaning of the travel of the policy (Clarke et al., 2015). Policy as meaning-making also reveals the issue of multiple interpretations

and the alteration of meanings where policy is assembled and populated differently when policy is in motion in various contexts (Mukhtarov, 2014; Lendvai, 2015), which are necessary for the task of explaining the ambiguous concept of gender mainstreaming.

Policy translation offers an explanation of the interconnection between space, scale, and time, which have been limited in the explanations in policy transfer. Applying these features as analytical dimensions will facilitate this study in gaining profound explanations of the multi-space and multi-scalar interconnections of the movement process of gender mainstreaming. Regarding the idea of space, this originates from the field of geography, in which relates to a 'physical areas that people establish the patterns, behaviors, and communications' (Campbell, 2018: 23). However, space in policy translation refers to levels of analysis, which highlights the contingency, complexity and the construction of space (Borzel and Risse, 2003; Yanow, 2011; McCann and Ward, 2012; Clarke et al., 2015). As opposed to a focus on the territory of the formal institutions of policy transfer, policy translation pays close attention to social territory and its interrelation among and intersections within, across, between, and under that space (Brenner, 2001; Massey, 2004; McCann and Ward, 2012). The aim is to connect institutional relationships, government hierarchy, and the policy network to explain social territory (Peck, 2003). This core aim of policy translation is essential for this study in order to be able to examine the power dynamics of policy actors and institutions.

Policy translation also challenges policy transfer in that the multi-level governance and the hierarchies of this multi-level transfer are misconceptions (Brenner, 2001). The notion of global and national relations in policy transfer assumes policy moves from 'global centres to peripheral recipients' (Clarke et al., 2015: 25). Unlike levels, scales are not discrete and operate through the social, economic, and political processes of human geography (Allen and Cochrane, 2007). This means that scales are relationally constructed and have power relationships to others, for example, in the division of rights and responsibilities within a state (McCann and Ward, 2013). Furthermore, scales are not fixed, they are fluid and transformed over time (MacRae, 2006). Policy does not run through one directional linear scale form but is involved with multi-scale

and multi-site power relations (MacRae, 2006; Allen and Cochrance, 2010). State hierarchies are not simply forms of authority and control, instead, the interplay of geography and state power is cross-cutting within which different lines of negotiation and engagement occur. Therefore, "jumping scale" normally occurs in cross cutting interactions (Gould, 2004; Allen and Cochrance, 2010). This study adopts scales as levels for the analysis of how international, national, implementation scales are constructed and related to the movement of gender mainstreaming.

The temporal dimension has been paid less attention in the policy transfer literature (Dussauge-Laguna, 2012). Few policy transfer scholars, for example, Common (1999), Dussauge-Laguna (2012), and Carroll (2014) suggest that policy transfer should be observing changes over time in order to understand the transfer process, for instance, during an election period, or before and after accession to policy transfer. However, policy translation expands the understanding of time as more than a simple clock time (Adam, 2005). Policy translation highlights that policy is constructed over time, because policy is planned, produced, and implemented in a specific temporal factor, for example, setting out deadlines for policy implementation, or monitoring and evaluating under a timeframe (Clarke et al., 2015). Additionally, policy translation suggests interrogating the linkage of the period of time with the movement of policy, for example, how policy is embedded or disconnected in a specific period of time (Coffey, 2004). Furthermore, how temporal factors connect with an individual and collective experience is advised to be observed (Coffey, 2004). As gender mainstreaming has travelled across time since 1995, adopting this element as one of analytical framework would provide insight and further explanation of this travel.

Scrutinising performativity and practice is a central aspect of policy translation; it helps to fill the gaps in the policy transfer approach, which perceives policy movement as separate from policy implementation. Policy translation perceives policy movement as a continuous process and advises observing how policy is implemented. To analyse policy practice, policy translation treats policy texts and language as performative and investigates how policy talks and becomes meaningful in practice (Clarke et al., 2015). This idea of performativity is concerned with a lived and embodied conception of how policy is 'doing' by moving beyond the interpretation and the implementation

of the policy (Newman, 2013). It focuses on sites of practice, involving acting, speaking, feeling and doing (Clarke et al., 2015). This is because the written policy texts do not guarantee the practice on the ground (Li, 1999). The performativity is an analytical aspect to the reconfiguration of the 'taken-for-granted' notion of policy studies which is framed by an orthodox perspective; treating policy as rationality and directionality (Clarke et al., 2015: 56). Performativity also reveals an 'illusion of consensus' (Clarke et al., 2015; Mellaard and Meijl, 2017), 'policy fictions' (Lendvai, 2015: 145), and 'policy slippage' (Clarke et. al., 2015). Furthermore, policy as translation underlines the observed environment of the new settings when policy moves because historical, social, and political aspects in new settings have an impact on the way policy is implemented (Mossberger and Wolman, 2003; Clarke et al., 2015). The concept of performativity and practice will reveal how gender mainstreaming is practiced on the ground.

When compared with policy transfer, policy translation tends to offer a less concrete analytical framework for investigating the movement of policy. One critique is that the policy translation approach mostly takes 'the standard questions of who, what, where, when and why', which are generally found in policy diffusion, lesson drawing, and policy transfer, with a few texts that try to fit into the social constructivist analysis (Dolowitz, 2017: 8). Furthermore, policy translation tends to limit in providing a full picture explanation of how a policy travel. A good example is the study of Mukhtarov (2014) on the travel of policy in the water sector in Turkey, which applies the three analytical issues of policy translation, including meaning, scale, and contingency. The study found that policy translation can clarify the fluidity, complexity and the emergence of the policy process. Nevertheless, policy translation fails to explain in what manner that policy travels (Mukhtarov, 2014).

As such, both policy transfer and policy translation have their strengths and weaknesses when attempting to explain policy movement. Drawing strengths from both approaches will provide a rigorous analysis for the study of the movement of gender mainstreaming. Bringing the strong indicative set of questions of policy transfer together with the power of the policy translation approach in explaining what is constructed and interplayed in the travel of policy would offer a comprehensive

understanding of how gender mainstreaming travels. Consequently, this research proposes a combination of analytical dimensions for the travel of gender mainstreaming in the next section.

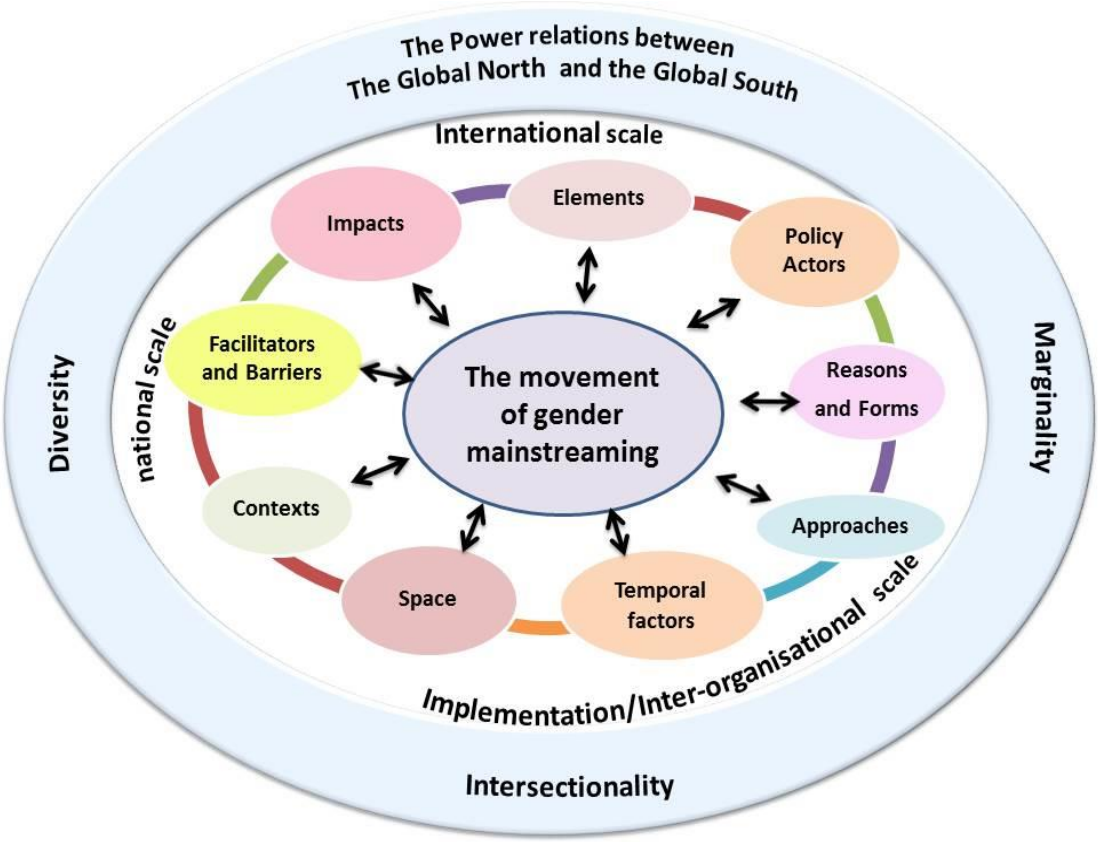
4.5 Tripartite analytical framework: Integrating postcolonial feminism, policy transfer, and policy translation

In studying the movement of "global" gender mainstreaming into Thailand, which is situated in the Global South and is embedded with the complexity and diversity of gender inequalities, this study brings together the postcolonial feminist approach, policy transfer, and policy translation to investigate this movement. It may be argued that these approaches have distinct strands of epistemological paradigms. Postcolonial feminism stems from transformative worldview; policy transfer is rooted in positivism/ rationalism, while policy translation derives from constructivism/relationalism. However, this study advocates that combining them as complementary will offer a comprehensive explanation of "what and why" and "how and why" of the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thai institutions.

This study uses the key inquiries of policy transfer as a basic entry point for the investigation of the movement of gender mainstreaming. To gain an in-depth understanding of what policy transfer sees as 'unintended consequence' or 'unforeseen scenarios' (Clarke et al., 2015: 195), key aspects of policy translation are applied to explain the complexity, contingency, and fluidity when gender mainstreaming travels across sites, scales and languages. Policy translation and postcolonial feminism share some mutual perspectives towards their ontology as they believe that social reality and their meanings are constructed by an individual social actor's experience, which varies based on their intersections with other persons (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014). Policy translation and postcolonial feminist approaches also share epistemology, for example, the idea of power relations, by paying attention to how colonial actors use their power and knowledge to colonise or recolonise the way of seeing of subalterns (Clarke et al., 2015). They also place an emphasis on adapting the notion of universality to being applicable and inalienable in different local contexts (Khoja-Moolji, 2014). Policy translation scholars advocate that policy as translation has a potential to bring those marginalised or silenced into the policy

process and work towards more equal social relations as policy is a process of assemblage and reassembles various aspects of lives, conditions of existence, and social interactions and relationships (Clarke et al., 2015), these ideas illustrate an association with the concerns of marginality of postcolonial feminism. However, this study contends that postcolonial feminism is essential for the analytical framework of this study. This is because postcolonial feminism moves beyond policy translation by emphasising the investigation of the gender hierarchy embedded in the movement of gender mainstreaming, which has been neglected by androcentric policy analysis. The tripartite analytical framework is demonstrated in Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: Tripartite analytical framework: Integrating postcolonial feminism, policy transfer and policy translation



Source: Author's interpretation drawing upon the key elements of postcolonial feminism, policy transfer and policy translation

Figure 4.1 demonstrates the tripartite analytical framework of this study developing from the key elements of postcolonial feminism, policy transfer, and policy translation. The overarching analysis framework situated at the outer circle derives from the four key principles of postcolonial feminism, discussed in Section 2.6. These four principles are being aware of the power relations between the Global North and the Global South; marginality; intersectionality; and diversity.

The issue of the power relations between the Global North and the Global South is applied to examine the power dynamics among the international and the Thai policy actors involved in the process of the gender mainstreaming movement. The main investigation looks at how the Western institutions and the Thai institutions interact and examine if they have any influences on each other, share mutual benefits, or hold superior or submissive statuses that affect the travel of gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, the power dynamics among the Thai policy actors in different spaces and scales is analysed. This is because postcolonial feminism highlights that the hegemony is not only associated with white or Western or the Global North, but non-white or non-Western in the Global South may produce the hegemonic discourse or power by treating its own perspective as a priority and stands as a norm to influence others (Mohanty, 1991). Therefore, in investigating hegemony, the notion of "white" or "Western" is not simply associated with a specific race or ethnicity (Syed and Ali, 2011). The hegemony of power also helps to examine the power relations inside 'macro, mezzo, and micro systems' and the connections between each other (Deepak, 2014:156), which in this study are the international, national, and implementation scales.

The principle of sensitivity to marginality is adopted in this study in two dimensions. The first dimension focuses on policy actors regarding who takes control and who are excluded and left as the peripheral voices of the movement of gender mainstreaming. The second dimension is analysing the manifold gender inequality in Thailand by looking at which issues of gender inequality have been maginalised in interpretations and the practice of gender mainstreaming. Regarding intersectionality, as discussed in Section 3.2, gender inequality in Thailand is contested and in multiple forms, and relates to the intersections of class, race, ethnicity, sexualities, and physical disability.

This analytical dimension is useful to explore how policy actors interpret and understand the intersectionality of gender inequalities, and then integrate these into the notion gender mainstreaming when it is moved to new settings. More importantly, the analysis accentuates how Thai policy actors implement gender mainstreaming in response to the complexity of gender inequality in the Thai context. As regards the awareness of the diversity of culture and contexts, this element is used to examine the movement of gender mainstreaming from international to national, and from national to diverse Thai institutional settings. Furthermore, how the diversity of institutional settings, particularly the GFPs in different departments and ministries impacts on the travel of gender mainstreaming also a focus.

Under the overarching analytical elements of postcolonial feminism, the inner circle in Figure 4.1 shows the ten analytical dimensions, which derive from a combination of the key dimensions of policy transfer and policy translation. These analytical components include elements of the notion of gender mainstreaming; policy actors; reasons and forms; approaches; temporal dimensions; space, contexts; facilitators and barriers; impacts; and multi-scalar analysis. The way in which how these analytical elements will be used in this study is detailed below.

As the notion of gender mainstreaming is contentious, focusing on what elements are introduced into the Thai institutions will clarify what are the specific ideas of gender mainstreaming which are transferred. Furthermore, the aspect of policy translation regarding policy as meaning will reveal how gender mainstreaming is interpreted, constructed, and reconstructed by policy actors. Moreover, this will clarify how the complexity of policy regarding policy as meaning impacts on the movement of gender mainstreaming, particularly as it travels from Western institutions into Thailand as a non-Western context. Regarding policy actors involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming, **t**he analysis of this study will cover state actors/formal actors and non-state actors/informal actors whether as an individual or in a group. Their roles in policy transfer and policy translation influence the policy movement will be examined. Based on policy translation, the interaction and power dynamics among policy agents is the central focus of the investigation. The investigative element regarding reasons and forms basically draw from the inquiry of policy transfer on

'why do actors engage in policy transfer?' and 'from where are lessons drawn?' (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996; 2000). The aim is to explore reasons for policy transfer and explain the forms of the transfer process of gender mainstreaming. However, the analysis of this study takes into account that policy is not free-floating as suggested by policy translation (McCann and Ward, 2012). Therefore, the connections of contexts surrounding the policy agents and institutions relating to the reasons and forms of policy movement will be examined.

In analysing what approaches are used to locate gender mainstreaming into the Thai setting, this study will observe whether the explanation of the types of policy transfer can clarify the movement process in the Thai context. However, this analysis goes further by taking account of policy translation regarding performativity and practice. The investigation will emphasise how the approaches to introduce gender mainstreaming into the Thai institutions, adopted by policy actors, impact on the embeddedness of gender mainstreaming in the Thai institutions. Regarding the temporal dimension, the study will initially analyse by looking at the clock time as policy transfer suggested. This is of benefit in capturing the movement of gender mainstreaming over time since 1995, when gender mainstreaming was internationally adopted, to 2017, which is the end time of data collection. The temporal analysis also takes in the strands of policy translation by exploring how the constructed time and the influence of time impact on policy actors and the movement process of gender mainstreaming. For the analysis of space, this mainly draws from policy translation. This investigation places a focus on how the space for gender mainstreaming is constructed and what are the interactions within, between and across spaces. Additionally, the study will analyse how this space impacts on embeddedness or disconnection or displacement of gender mainstreaming in diverse Thai institutional settings.

Recognising that policy movement is not a simple linear process that flows from one setting to another as advocated by policy translation, the contexts of diverse settings is applied as one of the analytical elements of this study. The focus will be placed on how features in the new policy environmental settings, for example, historical background, political, cultural structures and the forms of power and authority, impact on the process of embedding of gender mainstreaming into the Thai settings. This

focus is to reveal the complexity and contingency when gender mainstreaming travels transnationally and across distinct Thai institutions. Drawing from policy transfer, the analytical element regarding facilitators and barriers seeks to explain what supports or obstructs the movement of gender mainstreaming process. However, in gaining an in-depth analysis of the enablers and obstacles, this study also observes through the policy translation perspective on the practice of gender mainstreaming. The emphasis is also on the interconnections of those facilitators and barriers to the embeddedness of gender mainstreaming. It will further explain the causes of disembeddedness, displacement, transformation, and disturbance of gender mainstreaming in motion to diverse implementation settings. As regards impact, this element is initially developed from policy transfer concerning the outcome of transfer and implementation success as discussed in Section 4.3. However, this study goes beyond policy transfer by emphasising gaps between performativity and practice as highlighted by the policy translation aspect of the analysis. Furthermore, the connections of policy as meaning, the power relations among policy agents, and policy as a continuous process will be observed. In other words, this analytical dimension examines how gender mainstreaming is "doing" when it travels across sites, space, scales, and languages.

As portrayed in Figure 4.1, all nine analytical dimensions discussed above operate under the multi-scalar analytical element including international, national, and implementation scales. This analytical element initially draws from the multi-level approach to investigate structures at different levels and their interactions in policy transfer (Evans and Davies, 1999). In terms of an international level, this study accentuates the international institutions, for example, ECOSOC, UN Women, and regional institutions, such as ASEAN. The national level examines the national policy actors and institutions, for example, the National Women's Machinery (NWM), NGOs, and independent agencies. Regarding the implementation scale, this study emphasises the Gender Focal Points (GFPs) in departments and ministries who were designated by the Thai policy as implementers of gender mainstreaming. However, this study recognises the suggestion of the policy translation scholars that the multilevel investigation frames the idea of the vertical hierarchy analysis. Therefore, instead of level, this study adopts the idea of scales of policy translation by perceiving that international, national, and implementation settings are constructed and fluid,

holding the interrelated power hierarchy in non-direction linear form. The interconnection within and across of these multi-scales will be observed.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the tripartite analytical framework developed for this study by drawing out from the strengths and the key elements of postcolonial feminism, policy transfer, and policy translation in order to explain the movement of gender mainstreaming into the Thai context. The main reason for combining these approaches is to be able to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complexity of gender mainstreaming when it travels across scales, languages, spaces and policy actors. This analytical framework has framed the way to explore and examine the research questions of the study in the following chapters of findings.

Chapter 5 Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter overviews the methodology adopted in this study. The research aims and questions are outlined first to provide the rationale for this study. Then, the methodological approach and the underpinning philosophical paradigm are discussed. After that, the research design and methods adopted in this study are explained followed by the justification for the selection of the study design and the methods used. The three phases of the data collection procedure, sample, sampling and the pilot studies are outlined and discussed. This chapter also highlights the issues of validity, reliability, replication, generalisability and the approaches used to enhance the quality of the research. Furthermore, ethical considerations and the ways to tackle these ethical issues are explained. The chapter ends by reflexivity towards maintaining objectivity and transparency of this research.

5.2 Research aims and questions

This research aims to establish an understanding of the movement process of gender mainstreaming, which globally accepted as a strategy for achieving gender equality, into the Thai setting. The specific aims are to:

(1) examine how the notion of gender mainstreaming is interpreted, understood, and introduced across international, national and implementation scales;

(2) explore policy actors involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming, and the power dynamics among these policy actors;

(3) investigate why and how the policy actors locate gender mainstreaming into the Thai national boundary and implementation entities;

(4) identify impediments to the embeddedness of gender mainstreaming in the Thai institutions; and

(5) provide theoretical reflection for implementation to serve the complexity and diversity of

gender inequality in Thailand.

To achieve the aims of the study, the research focuses on examining the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 which established the Chief Gender Equality Officers (CGEOs) and Gender Focal Points (GPFs) in departments/ministries, and the actions taken according to this Cabinet Resolution in integrating a gender perspective into policies and practices. This particular policy was selected because this was Thailand's only official policy on gender mainstreaming after the adoption of the BDPA until the present (2017).

Being formed and guided by the conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 4, the research questions are:

1) What elements of gender mainstreaming have been introduced into the Thai context and how are these interpreted?
2) Who has been involved in introducing gender mainstreaming into Thailand and what are the power dynamics among policy actors?
3) What reasons underpin the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand and what are the approaches adopted by policy actors to locate this notion into their institutional settings?
4) What are the challenges to embedding gender mainstreaming into the Thai institutions?

5.3 Methodological approach

In selecting a methodology, researchers should consider their research questions, the types of explanation they plan to give, and the kind of knowledge that they seek to generate (Brannen, 2005). Based on these criteria, the qualitative method was considered appropriate for this study. Considering the research questions, this study seeks to examine the movement process of the gender mainstreaming policy into the Thai institutional context. This is a suitable topic for a qualitative approach as this method focuses on examining a process and an event (Neuman, 2006), as well as describe phenomena in a context (Silverman, 2014). Furthermore, this study seeks to explore the movement of gender mainstreaming through the perspectives of policy actors located at international, national, and implementation scales. The qualitative method is proper because it places an importance on the research participants by

learning from their experiences and their social circumstances (Rogers and Williams, 1998; Mason, 2002; Richie and Lewis, 2003). Additionally, based on the strength of the qualitative approach in providing in-depth explanation and producing 'rounded and contextual understanding on the basis of rich, nuanced, and detailed data' (Mason, 2002:3), this approach offers an in-depth and rigorous explanation to respond to the research questions.

When considering the type of explanation, this study aims to explore and explain how gender mainstreaming is moved, the interrelations between the policy actors, and reasons underpinning the movement. Furthermore, this study strives to provide recommendations for the further development of the gender mainstreaming policy in the Thai context. In achieving these explanations, the qualitative method can support this development because such method can explain 'why, how, and so what' (Weaver-Hightower, 2014: 120). In contrast, the quantitative method seeks to describe 'what and why' by aiming to test the objectivity of theories by examining measurable variables to find out the correlation among or comparison between variables (Creswell, 2014: 4). This account is incompatible with the type of explanation required of this study as this research does not aim to identify or measure any variables of the movement of gender mainstreaming.

Regarding the kind of knowledge being generated, due to the limited number of studies of the movement of gender mainstreaming into the Thai setting, this study strives to produce new knowledge to inform this complex topic. The qualitative method is suitable in the case of a concept and phenomenon is under-researched and needs to be explored and understood (Creswell; 2014).

5.4 Underpinning philosophical paradigm

Researchers' choice of method is driven by philosophical assumptions on ontology and epistemology (Brannen, 2005). Based on the selection of a qualitative method, the ontological foundation of the method of this study is based on constructivism, which believes that multiple realities are constructed by various individuals (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014). Individuals construct the meaning and engage with the world based on their historical and social background and experiences, leading to their interpretations

and perspectives (Creswell, 2014). For epistemology, this research stems from interpretivism to understand 'the intersubjective nature reality' (Bryman, 2012: 30; Hesse-Biber, 2017:12). Interpretivism seeks knowledge through examination and interpretation to grasp the 'subjective meaning' of social action (Bryman, 2012: 30) by discussion or interaction with individuals (Creswell, 2014). This complexity of the nature of reality is understood through visiting a real-life context and gathering the data (Neuman, 2006; Creswell; 2014). Therefore, this study produces knowledge within natural settings by visiting the participants' site to collect the data and then interpreting the meaning underlining these perceptions and experiences from the participants' perspectives (Snape and Spencer, 2003; Cohen et al., 2007; Flick, 2009). The ontology and epistemology of the qualitative method are different from objectivism and positivism underpinning the quantitative approach. Objectivism advocates for the existence of social phenomena and their meaning is out there waiting to be found and is separate from the social actors (Bryman, 2012; Hesse-Biber, 2017). The positivist epistemology believes in the use of the scientific method to study the social world (Bryman, 2008). However, although the method of this study is based on constructivism, the conceptual framework regarding policy movement approaches contains both positivist and constructivist paradigms, as discussed in Chapter 4.

5.5 Research design and data collection methods

To serve the aim of the study, a phenomenological research design was adopted to examine the movement process of gender mainstreaming through perspectives and experience of multi-scalar policy actors. This type of design is appropriate to capturing individuals' experience of a phenomenon and generates the knowledge based on individual perspectives and experience (Creswell, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2017). The system of inquiry consisted of three phases of data collection:

- Phase One adopted documentary research method to investigate the documentary evidence of the gender mainstreaming policy at international, national, and implementation scales.
- Phase Two explored the international and national policy actors' perspectives and experiences regarding the movement of gender mainstreaming by using a semi-structured interview.

- Phase Three examined the gender mainstreaming policy in motion at the implementation scale through the semi-structured interviewing of CEGOs and GFPs regarding their experience, interpretations, and perceptions of this policy.

Each phase was interrelated. The document analysis from Phase One informed the development of the interview questions for Phase Two. Also, the initial findings from the previous two phases supported the development of the interview questions for Phase Three. Furthermore, the selection of documents for analysis in Phase One was also iteratively reinforced with interviews by Phase Two and Three. The summary of the research design is visualised in Appendix 1.

Documentary research and semi-structured interviews were selected as data collection methods because of their strengths in acquiring empirical data. For Phase One, a documentary analysis was adopted because documents are 'windows on to social and organizational realities' (Bryman, 2012: 554). These are a crucial source of evidence of how policy is shaped, and of the way people work and organise their activities within political organisations (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004; Freeman and Maybin, 2011). Furthermore, the significant benefits of documents are their capability in providing the richness of data (Yin, 1994) and providing a number of different types and levels of data (May, 2001). Text documents are also gained in their natural setting and they are generally promptly accessible (Silverman, 2006). These benefits helped to form an initial understanding of the movement of the gender mainstreaming policy and how the policy documents at multi-scales interrelated or disconnected. However, one limitation of documents is that they tend to be produced based on the authors' perceptions and strands of understanding, therefore, documents cannot be assumed to be providing objective accounts of a state's or organisation's affairs (Bryman, 2012). To overcome this limitation, the interview method was adopted as triangulation to enhance the richness of data collection.

A semi-structured interview method was employed for Phase Two and Phase Three in order to uncover knowledge with a normal human interface to draw out complexity of interviewees opinions and experiences (Mason, 2002; Legard, Keegan and Ward,

2008), which is necessary to address the research questions outlined earlier. The semi-structured interview also provides an opportunity for the researcher to cover all the main topics during the interview through topic guides (Irvine, 2012). Especially for myself as a novice researcher, the prepared topics of the interviews provided full coverage of the inquiries. Although the semi-structured interview is based on the topic guide, its structure is flexible enough to allow the researcher to examine relevant issues that might be raised spontaneously during the interview (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2008). This flexibility enables the researcher to acquire in-depth answers for the exploration and explanation of the research questions. Furthermore, the interview can provide an opportunity for the construction of knowledge based on specific experiences of each interviewee (Mason, 1996). Due to the strengths of the semi-structured interview, this method facilitates a deeper exploration the multifaceted movement of gender mainstreaming policy, from the differing policy actors' perspectives and experiences. However, I am aware the interview method is challenging which requires personal and professional skills (Bryman, 2008; Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2008; Leddy-Owen, 2016). Therefore, three pilot interviews, including two pilot interviews for Phase Two and one pilot interview in Phase Three, were conducted to test the flow of the interview and the clarity of topic guides; the details of the pilot interview is included in the next section.

5.6 Data collection, sampling and sample

As informed by the research design, data were gained from three integrated phases to explore the movement of gender mainstreaming.

5.6.1 Phase One: Starting from documentary research (November 2016 - November 2017)

In order to explore the occurrences and processes of gender mainstreaming, particularly how this notion was established, constructed, and introduced into the Thai context, various documents were selected purposively. To establish the reliability of this study, the documents were selected based on three criteria: the critical cases, the conceptual framework of the study, and types of documents. Considering the critical case criterion, the documents were selected based on the fact that they can provide information related to the topic of the study (Patton, 2002). The study focused on

gender mainstreaming, so the search terms for document was mainly “gender mainstreaming”, “integrating gender perspectives”, “strategy to achieve gender equality”. Following the conceptual framework criteria, the documents were accumulated on the basis of the elements of the tripartite analytical framework as discussed in Section 4.5. The documents were gained from multi-scales, which were in international, national, and implementation scales, and from multiple sources including intergovernmental, governmental and non-governmental agencies. The documents also selected based on temporal dimensions, which covered from 1995 when gender mainstreaming was established until 2017 when the period of data collection ends for this study. Regarding, the types of document criterion, various types of Thai and English documents were selected, for example, international agreements, policy documents, handbooks, fact sheets, executive statements, plans, and reports were collected to triangulate data from different sources. The selection of various types of document lessens the limitations of adopting documentary research because data gained from documents depends upon the selected type of documents (Silverman, 2006). Furthermore, as the documentary research was iteratively processed, the selected documents also reinforced by the suggestions and the confirmations of the interviewees in Phases Two and Three. The details of the criteria for the selection of documents are in Appendix 2.

At the international scale, 23 documents including, declarations, resolutions, statements, fact sheets, guidelines, and reports were reviewed and 12 were selected for the analysis. These documents were publicly acquired from websites, for example, the General Assembly (GA), the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), UN Women, and ASEAN websites. At the national scale, 45 documents of different types, for example, cabinet resolutions, circular letters, guidelines, handbooks, summary reports, training documents, high ranked government officials’ statements addressed at national and international scales, and Thailand’s country reports to the UN, were reviewed, and 19 documents were selected for analysis. These documents were acquired from the Thai government websites, for example, the Secretariat of the Cabinet, the Department of Women’s Affairs and Family Development (DWF) and from the UN websites. Furthermore, hard copies of documents were obtained during the fieldwork, for which I issued a letter to the Director-General of the DWF to ask for permission in accessing these documents.

Documents relating to implementation scale were acquired from interviewees conducting during Phases Two and Three and from the GFPs' websites. A total of 15 documents were reviewed, and 7 documents were selected as a source for the analysis of the implementation of gender mainstreaming. The documents were reports and strategic plans of GFPs, guidelines and information regarding gender mainstreaming produced by the GFPs. In total, 38 multi-scalar documents were selected as illustrated in Appendix 3.

5.6.2 Phase Two: Exploring the movement of gender mainstreaming through international and national policy actors (March - July 2017)

Phase Two explored the movement of gender mainstreaming policy from international and national policy actors' perspectives and experiences through semi-structured interviews. The topic guide of the interview questions was developed based on the conceptual framework and the data acquired from Phase One. To establish the reliability of the research tool, two pilot interviews were conducted with respondents, who had the same characteristics to the sample, to test the topic guide. It was found that most of the interview questions worked well. There were no substantive changes to the topic guide, other than some having rewording revised, as well as some rephrasing and resequencing to enhance clarity and ensure the flow of the interviews (Appendix 4).

The target number of participants was up to 20 interviewees. The sample was selected by purposive sampling because this method was considered to be suitable for small-scale and in-depth studies (Ritchie et al., 2003). The purposive sampling facilitates access to specific key persons, and in particular, those who have experienced and been involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming policy from multiple scales and institutional settings. The criteria of sampling were based on 'critical cases', which is selecting the sample based on case knowledge and experience regarding the research topic, and that the respondents would have the potential ability to provide information on such issue (Morse, 1998; Patton, 2002).

The potential participants were chosen from the lists of experts and key persons, which were publicly available from the UN and the DWF documents and websites.

The sample consisted of respondents from supranational organisations, parliament (national legislative assembly), national committees, bureaucrats at the national scale, and pressure groups in various positions and agencies. Twenty-two persons were initially invited to take part in the research by telephone or email to provide a brief overview of the study. The formal invitation and the written consent form were sent later to the participants by email, except in one case in which the invitation was sent by post for the convenience of the potential participant. The data collection period for Phase Two was also extended from May until the middle of July to reach the target numbers of the study. The benefit of flexibility in conducting the research resulted in exceeding the target number of participants. Twenty-one persons agreed to participate including those original participants with whom I conducted two pilot interviews, plus one person who could not be reached after the first contact. The summary of the sample and the sampling criteria in Phase Two are illustrated in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Summary of the participants and sampling criteria for Phase Two

<table>
<tr><th>Respondents</th><th>Target number</th><th>Number of participants</th><th>Sampling Criteria</th><th>Respondent code</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">International scale</td></tr>
<tr><td>International organistaion staff</td><td>4</td><td>4
(All females)</td><td>Have experience relating to gender mainstreaming policy at international scale and/or engage in introducing and shaping the policy in a national context/or in Thailand</td><td>IO-3
IO-16
IO-20
IO-21</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">National scale: Government sector</td></tr>
<tr><td>National Legislative Assembly Member</td><td>2</td><td rowspan="2">4
(All females)</td><td rowspan="2">Have experience in the formation and/or disseminate, and/or implement the gender mainstreaming policy from international scale to the Thai policy</td><td>NLA-12
NLA-17</td></tr>
<tr><td>National Committees Member relating to women’s and gender issues and/or Thailand’s representatives at international/ regional levels</td><td>2</td><td>NC-7
NC-18</td></tr>
</table>

Respondents	Target number	Number of participants	Sampling Criteria	Respondent code
Government officials in the National Women's Machinery (NWM)	6	8 (6 females and 2 males)	Have experience in working as a catalyst to introduce, formulate, and monitor the gender mainstreaming policy to Gender Focal Points (GFPs)	GO-1 GO-2 GO-4 GO-5 GO-6 GO-8 GO-10 GO-13
National scale: Non-governmental sector				
Non-governmental organisation staff	2	2 (All females)	Have experience in working with NWM and/or GFPs on gender mainstreaming of gender related issues	NGO-11 NGO-15
Independent organisation staff	2	1 (female)		IDO-14
Academics	2	2 (All females)		AC-9 AC-19
Total	**20**	**21 (19 females and 2 males)**		

All face-to-face interviews were conducted based on the topic guide (Appendix 5) with audio recording and note taking during the interviews. Most interviews were at a time and place convenient to the participants, and took place in the participants' workplace. However, three interviews were conducted in a café or a restaurant, and one interview was at the participant's home for their convenience. Two interviews with participants who did not reside in Thailand were conducted via Skype call. The duration of the interviews was varied and ranged from 45 minutes to 120 minutes.

5.6.3 Phase Three: Examining the movement of gender mainstreaming at the implementation scale from the GFPs (July - October 2017)

In order to explore the implementation scale, this phase adopted semi-structured interviews to investigate the perspective of executives and staff in GFPs suited in different departments and ministries. This is because GFPs were perceived as the core implementers of gender work based on the Cabinet Resolution. Furthermore, studying evidence from local agents and the challenges they face is crucial to understanding the gaps in policy implementation (Payne and Bennett, 2015).

The sample was purposively selected from four GFPs out of the total 131 GFPs from the GFP list, which was obtained from the DWF during Phase Two. The criteria of

sampling were: (1) the performance of the GFPs on the promotion of gender equality and (2) the field of responsibility of the departments in which the GFPs were situated. The level of performance of each GFP was considered from the classification of GFPs that received the award for an outstanding work on the promotion of gender equality, given annually by the OWF/ DWF, and those were not granted the award. Two awarded GFPs and two non-awarded GFPs, therefore, were purposively selected. In each category, each selected GFP must be from different ministries in order to reflect different field of work. Besides this set criteria, I found from the GFP list that in approximately 85 percent of the 131 departments, GFPs were mostly assigned to a human resource management unit. Therefore, to get a wider range in the sample, four particular GFPs were selected based on the fact that they were in different units. The selected four GFP were situated in an office of secretary, a public sector development unit, a central management office, and a non-specific unit. This selection represents the distinct management and structure of the GFPs. The total targeted numbers of participants in this phase were 8 - 12 GFP officials, who were in different positions in the selected four GFPs. This group of samples therefore consisted of 4 - 6 persons from two awarded GFPs, and 4 - 6 individuals from the two non-awarded GFPs. The sampling diagram is displayed in Appendix 6.

GFP officials in each of the four GFPs were approached by phone. A snowballing technique was also applied to get more participants because the GFP name list was not up-to-date; some officials had been rotated to work in a different unit. Furthermore, as one non-awarded GFP did not assign a specific structure to their department for being responsible for gender mainstreaming. They assigned only a CGEO to oversee this issue without any active structure of the GFP itself. Different officials were occasionally designated to attend the meetings or trainings with the DWF. Due to the snowballing technique, I approached an official who was most frequently designated to take part in the GFP activities, organised by the DWF. In total, ten GFP officials from the four GFPs were called to informally invite them to take part. However, one GFP official refused to participate as this official mentioned that “I cannot provide the information; my staff can provide more in-depth information.” Then, nine formal invitations along with the Participation Information Sheet were sent via my university email account for their consideration. After approximately a week, the follow up calls

were made to ask about their decisions. Once they had agreed to take part, the appointments were arranged at their convenient date and place. The total sample for this phase was nine GFP officials (executives and staff) from four GFPs. This included five GFP officials (two executive and three staff) from the awarded GFPs and four interviewees (two executives and two staff) from the non-awarded GFPs, as illustrated in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2 Summary of the GFP participants in Phase Three

Type of GFPs	**Target numbers**	**Number of participants**	**Position of participants in GFPs**	**Participant code**
Two awarded GFP from different ministries	4 - 6	5 (3 from one GFP and 2 from another GFP) (All female)	2 executives and 3 staff with different duration of work in GFPs	GFP-22 GFP-23 GFP-24 GFP-27 GFP-28
Two non-awarded GFP from different ministries	4 - 6	4 (2 from each GFPs) (All female)	2 executives and 2 staff with different duration of work in GFPs	GFP-25 GFP-26 GFP-29 GFP-30
Total Number		**9 (All female)**		

Only one pilot interview was conducted with a GFP official because the questions were generally similar to those in Phase Two. Nevertheless, the questions were tailored to be more specific, based on the data gained from Phase One and Two, to gain the relevant data from the GFP officials. According to this pilot interview, the interviewee understood all the interview questions, could elaborate on ideas and share experiences regarding the topic guide questions. Therefore, the topic guide was not revised. However, I was aware that personal experiences, the length of work and the positions of the participants in a GFP varied. Thus, the interview questions and the follow-up questions raised during the interviews were based on the different background and experiences of the individual interviewees.

Nine interviews, including the pilot, were conducted based on the topic guide (Appendix 7). The interviews were approximately 45 - 90 minutes long, with an audio recording and note taking during the interviews. Eight interviews were conducted face-to-face in the participants' workplace, guaranteeing privacy, for example, in a meeting

room. One interview was conducted by telephone as the participant was unavailable to meet in person due to the tight schedule of work.

5.7 Data analysis

To prepare the data for analysis, the 38 documents of international, national, and implementation scales were selected. Also, all 30 interviews including the pilot studies from Phases Two and Three were fully transcribed in the original language of the interviews (3 in English and 27 in Thai) so as to retain the substantive meaning from the original language. The final analysis included the data from the pilot interviews because qualitative data collection and analysis is often progressive (Van Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001). Even so, there is no specific pilot study, and the researchers may improve their interview questions from their earlier interviews (Holloway, 1997; Van Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001). Additionally, the topic guide questions were not substantively changed from the pilot studies in Phase Two and there was no change in Phase Three. Furthermore, the sample in this study was unique and specific to those who experienced working on gender mainstreaming; the inclusion of the pilot studies in the final result ensured reaching the target number of participants. In contrast with the quantitative method, the inclusion of the pilot study may contaminate the findings of the research (Leon, Davis, Kraemer, 2011).

Thematic analysis, which Clarke and Braun (2013: 121) describe as ‘a method for identifying and analysing patterns in qualitative data’, was selected for data analysis. The process of thematic analysis involves the encoding qualitative information to discover, interpret, and report identified themes within data (Boyatzis, 1998; Spencer et al., 2014). This method provides a way of ‘seeing’, ‘making sense’, ‘analysing’, and ‘systematically observing’ the data (Boyatzis, 1998: 4 - 5). The prominent benefit of thematic analysis is that it offers flexibility for any theories, research questions, sizes of data, and data collection methods (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Clarke and Braun, 2017). These benefits were appropriate for this study as the analytical framework has been developed from a combination of different paradigms included postcolonial feminism, policy transfer, and policy translation. Furthermore, as this study acquired data from the documents and the interviews, which was in-depth and complex, thematic analysis is suitable for analysing the rich details and complexity of the

gathered data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Moreover, this method is useful for producing analysis to inform policy development (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This feature served one of the aims of this study, which was providing recommendations for the further development of the gender mainstreaming policy, to achieve gender equality in Thailand.

However, thematic analysis is challenging because fluidity of this method might be considered subjectivity (Flick, 2009). To deal with this challenge, a researcher should be 'clear and explicit in devising a systematic method' (Reicher and Taylor, 2005: 549). Therefore, a code book, suggested by Boyaztis (1998) and Creswell (2009), was used in this study to organise a set of codes and definitions of coding. It may be argued that using a code book is contrast with the substantive of the thematic analysis method developed by Braun and Clarke (2006; 2013). They highlight that the use of the code book is based on a postpositivist paradigm by trying to measure coding accuracy (Clarke and Braun, 2015). However, the use of the code book in this study was not intended to frame or measure the codes as Braun and Clarke's concern. Instead, in this research, the code book enhanced the systematic coding. Additionally, to control the quality of data analysis, 'A 15-Point Checklist of Criteria for Good Thematic Analysis' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 39) was employed as guidance. The analysis process also followed the six phases of thematic analysis which were familiarisation; coding; searching for themes; reviewing themes; defining and naming themes; and writing up (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Clarke and Braun, 2013; 2015). However, as warned by Clarke and Braun (2013: 121), the six phases 'should not be viewed as a linear model'. I found that the process of analysis was not straightforward, but it was an iterative process. For example, during writing up, the codes were reviewed, and the identified themes were redefined.

To familiarise with the data corpus, the transcripts were read and reread. This is the first step in the analytical process to overview the data (Spencer et al., 2014). The research objectives and questions were also revisited to remind myself what I was searching for. Additionally, a short description of each interviewee's background was produced, including their gender, duration of work, job positions, and a short reflection of the researcher to describe their characteristics. At the same time, any

interesting issue coming up during the familiarisation process was noted. This practice provided the potential for an inside analysis during the coding process (Clarke and Braun, 2015). For example, I noted an "imbalance between the implementation on women's and LGBTI issues" when I read the transcripts. This note was later developed during the coding phase as a noted "conflict between women's and LGBTI issues on the implementation of gender mainstreaming".

A code is 'a succinct label', which can be a word or a phase, capturing the pattern by grouping similar data segment (Clarke Braun and Hayfield, 2015: 230). Due to the richness of the qualitative methods, the data was winnowed by finding out and coding only the relevant data for each research question. For example, Research Question 2 was about policy actors and the power dynamics, all data related to the policy actors and the relationships among those actors were coded. The coding approach was a combination of inductive and deductive methods. The coding was mostly 'inductive coding' (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Clarke, Braun and Hayfield, 2015: 225) or open coding (Strauss and Corbin 1990). This inductive coding was derived from the data by a close examination of patterns from the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Clarke, Braun and Hayfield, 2015). In some cases, the deductive coding, which is the use of theoretical concept to code the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Clarke, Braun and Hayfield, 2015) or a theory-driven code (Boyatzis, 1998) was also adopted, especially in the second coding cycle. For example, the policy actors were coded by using a category of policy agents from policy transfer (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000) such as bureaucrats, policy entrepreneurs, academics, supranational institutions. The data were also coded in many forms as a word, a phrase, and a sentence. The aim in using different forms of coding is to include an adequate length of passage for the code segment to "make sense" when retrieving them (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013).

All data were coded in English. The data from the documentary research was analysed by manually coding on paper because the documents were in the form of hard copied and soft files. An Excel spread sheet was used to collect the codes with a reference, so as to link the codes with the main texts to avoid the loss of the sense in engaging with the specifics of the data. As all interview transcriptions were in Word files, I used NVivo to organise the coding for the interview data. The use of a computer software

programme supports an efficient analysis of the data (Creswell, 2009). The analysis process is explained in Appendix 8.

5.8 Validity, reliability, replication, and generalisation of the study

The criteria for evaluating the quality of social research are validity, reliability and replication (Bryman, 2012), which should be considered throughout the research process (Morse et al., 2002). The qualitative validity is the accuracy of the findings, trustworthiness, and credibility of the account of a researcher for the participants (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 cited in Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014). To strengthen the validity, one or more strategies are needed to check the accuracy of the findings (Creswell, 2014). This study employed two strategies to enhance the validity throughout the process of the study. The first strategy is triangulation by collation of various data sources, from the documentary research of international, national, and implementation documents together with the interviews of policy actors at different positions, organisations, and scales. The second strategy was self-reflection, which is the clarification of the researcher's bias to establish 'an open and honest narrative that resonates well with readers' (Creswell, 2014:202). Due to my affiliation with the Department of Women's Affairs and Family Development, this positioned my status as an insider researcher. I was aware that my background and experience might affect the study. To enhance validity of the research, reflexivity was elaborated in Section 5.10.

Qualitative reliability is the consistency of the research's approach across different researchers and projects (Gibbs, 2007). Conducting an internal check and providing readers with information about the research strengthen reliability (Lewis and Ritchie; 2003). This study conducted the internal check by that the transcripts were checked against the audio records to ensure that they did not contain any mistakes during transcription. Furthermore, to enhance the reliability of the research tool, the interview topic guides were tested by conducting the pilot studies. Code books were also produced during data analysis for the consistency of data coding because a codebook prevents an unstable coding and a potential shift of meaning during the coding process (Gibbs, 2007). To provide readers with information about the research process, a thick description of the research procedure, for example, the criteria of

selecting data sources and sampling, was provided. The thick description not only strengthened the reliability of the study, but also enhanced the validity of the study and maximised an opportunity for replication.

Regarding generalisation, gaining in-depth information of the qualitative approach is traded off with the use of a small sample, which undermines the generalisation of the research (Becker and Bryman, 2012). Nevertheless, generalisability was not the aim of this study as the study seeks to provide in-depth explanation of the movement process of gender mainstreaming in Thailand. As suggested by Creswell (2009), the ambition of qualitative research is not to achieve generalisation. However, providing thick description in this study can allow researchers in other contexts to make a judgement on the generalisation. A summary of the methods adopted in this study to enhance validity, reliability, replication, and generalisation are outlined in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Methods adopted in this study to enhance validity, reliability, replication, and generalisation

Criteria	Methods
Validity	• Triangulation of data sources (multi-scalar documentary research and interviews) • Thick description • Self-reflection
Reliability	• Checking transcripts • Pilot studies • Producing a code book • Thick description
Replication	• Thick description
Generalisation	• Thick description

5.9 Ethical considerations

This research was conducted following the ethical principles of social science research including informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, safeguarding, and beneficence (Banks, 2012). Before conducting the study, this research was approved by the School for Policy Studies Ethics Committee, University of Bristol. Also, a letter was issued to the Director-General of the DWF to request approval for my access to documents related to the gender mainstreaming policies and the GFPs data. All respondents were approached directly and were given a Participant

Information Sheet (Appendix 9), which provided information about the research, research process, and their rights in taking part or withdrawing or withholding at any point of the study process. Their participation was based on a voluntary basis. Informed consents were sought in advance from the interviewees, and the written consent forms (Appendix 10) were signed before starting the interviews.

To maintain confidentiality and anonymity, the identification of the interviewees was protected by using a code to conceal their names and other specific details, which could make them able to be identified, for example, their gender, positions and organisations. The interviews were audio recorded on an encrypted device and transferred to an encrypted computer within the University of Bristol's research storage drive by an encrypted memory stick. Fully anonymised transcripts were also kept securely in the University of Bristol's research storage drive.

Even though the confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed, two interviewees raised a concern over the audio record because they mentioned third parties' names. I reassured the interviewees about the safeguarding principle that there was no potential risk of harm to them. This was because all transcripts were anonymous, any person's name including the third parties' names was not recorded in the transcripts. And I was the only person who gained access to the audio record. The interviewees understood and were reassured.

Regarding beneficence, the ultimate goal of this study is to advance the movement of the gender mainstreaming policy to achieve gender equality in the Thai context. The respondents were informed of this potential benefit, but this outcome could not be guaranteed. Nevertheless, I will seek an opportunity to bring the knowledge gained from the study to develop the movement of gender mainstreaming. The possible way is to disseminate the research outputs to the public to maximise the opportunity for the impact of the study, for instance, in publications, through presentations at national committees on women's and gender equality issues meetings and academic conferences.

5.10 Reflexivity

5.10.1 Insider status of the researcher: Benefits and challenges

As mentioned in Section 5.8, a self-reflection enhances the validity of the study. A researcher's self-description is useful for a consideration of the possible impacts of the researcher's appearance and background on the respondents and the research (Perry, 2002). Prior to starting my PhD journey, I was a middle level Social Development Official, at the Bureau of Gender Equality Promotion, DWF. I had worked in this Bureau for 10 years. During the time of conducting this research, I was on educational leave (from 2015 - 2019). Dwyer and Buckle (2009) suggest that prudent researchers must be aware of their particular status impacting on the group under study. Due to my position, I was considered myself as an insider because of my affiliation to the DWF, and I personally knew some of the interviewees before starting my research. An insider researcher is someone who is connected with the research setting (Robson, 2002), for example, having a familiarity with the participants (Griffith, 1998), and sharing an identity, language and experiences with the respondents (Asselin, 2003). However, to some extent, I could be considered as an outsider, given that I was on educational leave in the UK for approximately one and a half years before commencing the field work. This educational leave had distanced me from the setting for a period of time. Although I had worked for 10 years with the DWF, I had been working in a unit which was not directly involved with the task based on the Cabinet Resolution 31/07/2001, nor had it been directly in contact with the GFPs in other ministries and departments on the gender mainstreaming issue. This had also distanced me from the research topic.

Being aware of my position, the status of an insider researcher has pros and cons (Mercer, 2007). For the benefits, I gained an easy acceptance from the participants whom I knew before starting the research and the interviews were similar to a daily conservation in a friendly atmosphere. As Hannabus (2000: 103) highlights, '[t]he [insider] researcher knows his/her environment well, knows by instinct what can be done and how far old friendships and favours can be pressed, just when and where to meet up for interviews'. This insider status contributed to openness and trust from the interviewees as expressed by the interviewees below:

> I was open with you because you were my colleague and worked in this agency. Otherwise, I would not reveal about this [information]. (GO-1)

> I knew you so I trusted to speak out about these problems. (NLA-17)

The statements above reflect Hockey's suggestion (1993) that insider researchers gain trust and openness from the interviewees and so are able to collect in-depth rich data.

Nevertheless, for the cons, my insider status might make some respondents reluctant to agree in to participate or share their experience in the study, especially the potential respondents in the GFPs. For transparency, I informed the participants about my position at the DWF when I first approached them. I also guaranteed their confidentiality and anonymity, and provided clear information about the research. This practice eased the challenge of overcoming the reluctance of participants in taking part in the study.

Furthermore, I had to guard against my background and experience clouding my judgement in order to maintain the objectivity of the research. As Mercer (2007: 11) warned, the 'greater familiarity can make insiders more likely to take things for granted [and] develop myopia'. This familiarity could impact on the quality of the data, for example, 'the assumptions might not be challenged' (Hockey, 1993: 202) and shared prior experiences and norms might not be articulated (Platt, 1981; Kanuha, 2000; Mercer, 2007). To avoid myopia and maintain objectivity, I noted my fieldwork procedures and my reflection in the research diary to check the transparency and enhance the reliability of the study. The interviews were also conducted based on the topic guide questions to ensure that all topics were covered.

A confusion of roles due to my insider status was another challenge. After I had conducted five interviews, a conflict between the roles of a researcher and an insider occurred. I felt overwhelmed by the data and had a desperate emotion that there seemed to be no solution for an effective implementation of gender mainstreaming in Thailand. I reflected on this emotion in my research diary and discussed this feeling

with an experienced Thai researcher. The research diary and the discussion helped me to overcome this confusion. Recognising that I had attached myself to "the problems" from the perspective of a government official, I had to hold objectivity of the research by not being confused between my status as a PhD researcher at the University of Bristol and a bureaucrat at the NWM. I finally gained my distance back as a researcher and investigated the research questions through a researcher's perspective, based on the conceptual framework and social science methodology to maintain the impartiality of the research. This situation reflects Asselin's indication (2003) that the confusion of the roles can occur in any research particularly when the researcher is acquainted with the research setting or participants, the confusion of roles becomes at a risk.

My insider status also impacted on the expectations of the interviewees. One interviewee expressed that:

> I told you what actually happened in practice. This is an ineffective aspect of our country; you have to select and not to embarrass our country (NLA-17).

This interviewee's reflection showed the expectation on me as a bureaucrat to not damage the image of the country. However, in this case, I responded to this challenge by clarifying my role as a researcher to the interviewee. As a researcher, the role was to present the research based on the findings under the social science research methodology and ethics. I also reassured the interviewee about the confidentiality and anonymity principles in conducting this study.

5.10.2 Power relations between the researcher and the interviewees

Many interviewees in this study were renowned experts or high-ranking officials in international, governmental, and non-governmental agencies. Unbalanced power relations between myself as a researcher and the elite interviewees was anticipated as posing a challenge, for example, gaining access to interviewees and the tendency that the interviewees might control the agenda of the interview (Burnham et al., 2004; Bygnes, 2008).

To overcome the challenge in gaining access to interviewees, I contacted the interviewees one or two months in advance to make an appointment at their convenience. In some case, the interviewees did not initially reply to the invitation email. I made a follow up call or sent a follow up email for invitation. I also extended my interview period for Phase Two until July 2017 to provide more flexibility for the interviewees so as to gain their acceptance.

To handle the issue that the interviewees might control the interview, I prepared to know about the interviewees' background, for example, their positions, areas of expertise, and previous employment roles as suggested by Hochschild (2009) and Mikecz (2012). During the interviews, even though I had prepared beforehand, an imbalance of power relations occurred. In some interviews, I was unable to control the duration of the interview session. For example, due to an interviewee's extensive experience of fighting for women's rights, some interviews took about two and a half hours. Nevertheless, the data acquired during the extensive interviews was invaluable and enabled me to gain historical information on the movement of gender mainstreaming in Thailand, which was not officially documented. Listening to the interviewees also helped to familiarise and build up trust between me and the respondents.

5.10.3 Linguistic translation

From the literature review and the data from Phase One, the linguistic translations of "gender, gender mainstreaming and gender equality" into Thai were varied and contested as discussed in Chapter 3. This problem posed a challenge to the interviews because the interviewees might adopt and acknowledge different Thai terms when referring to these terminologies. To deal with this challenge, I listed the Thai translation words on gender mainstreaming and its related terminologies, found from the literature reviews and the documentary analysis. During the interview, I flexibly adopted the Thai terminologies from the list based on that interviewee's understanding. I also mentioned the English terms for cross-referencing to avoid confusion. This is because the transliterating method is another option when a translated word cannot provide the same connotations as an original word (Kanchanawan, 2004).

The next following chapters will discuss the findings of this study which were conducted based on the explained methodology in this chapter.

Chapter 6
The Notion of Gender Mainstreaming in Motion into the Thai Context

6.1 Introduction

The Thai government, like other governments has introduced the "universal" notion of gender mainstreaming into its institutions. However, which actual elements of gender mainstreaming have been introduced in Thailand is considered ambiguous. As Subrahmanain (2004:92) describes, gender mainstreaming is seen as a 'monolith' without disaggregating what it entails in practical terms, and what processes and strategies it comprises in clearly situated contexts. Furthermore, no policy transfer can in reality guarantee 'carbon-copy outcomes' (Peck, 2011: 781). This chapter aims to explain what elements of the notion of gender mainstreaming have been introduced in Thailand's policies and institutions, and how policy actors interpret and understand this concept when this notion has travelled across international, national, and implementation scales.

This chapter identifies four elements of the notion of gender mainstreaming, which emerged from the findings of this study. These four elements are: (1) the institutional arrangements for gender mainstreaming; (2) gender equality: the goal of gender mainstreaming; (3) gender mainstreaming strategy; and (4) the policy approaches of gender mainstreaming. In each section, it is also explained how these four elements were translated by demonstrating the multiple interpretations, reinterpretations and the transformation of the notion of gender mainstreaming through its movement. This chapter also explains why the movement of gender mainstreaming was not a simply linear process. This is done by showing how multiple sources of understanding, and the complexity of linguistic translation, resulted in diverse interpretations and practice by policy actors.

6.2 The institutional arrangements for gender mainstreaming

Chronologically, after the adoption of the BDPA in 1995, the Thai government initially introduced the notion of gender mainstreaming into the Thai settings by

focusing on the institutional arrangements for gender mainstreaming. At the national scale, in 1997, two years after the adoption of the BDPA, the Thai government elevated the status of National Women's Machinery (NWM) from a small unit consisting of 10 officials to a bureau status, namely the Office of the National Commission on Women's Affairs (ONCWA), with an increase of numbers of staff and budget. This upgrading was in accordance with the BDPA, which called upon State parties to establish or to elevate the status of the NWM 'at the highest possible level of government' with a clear mandate and authority to ensure the visibility of gender mainstreaming policy and effective implementation of the BDPA (ECOSOC-1995, paragraph 203 (b) and 292). As a NWM official explained:

> After the Beijing conference, this impacted on the status of the ONCWA. Its status was revised and upgraded to be a bigger structure, equipped with more staff and budgets. (GO-13)

Due to the fact that the bureau status of the NWM did not reflect the 'highest level as possible' of the national mechanism, as committed in the BDPA, the Thai government further pursued to continual upgrading the NWM status. This further attempt in upgrading was evidenced by the documents. Thailand's Reply to the Questionnaires on the Implementation of the BDPA in 1999, for example, indicated that 'the purposed bills for further upgrading its [ONCWA] status to become a Department [have] been approved by the cabinet and being submitted for parliament approval' (RTG-1999: 35). Consequently, the NWM was restructured to a departmental level, under the new name as the Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development (OWF), sitting under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, in 2002.

Likewise, at the implementation scale, the Thai government stipulated the establishment of the Chief Gender Equality Officers (CGEOs) and Gender Focal Points (GFPs) in Thai ministries and departments, as highlighted in the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001, the only official policy for gender mainstreaming. The CGEOs and GFPs were designed to act as implementing mechanisms for gender mainstreaming. These mechanisms were introduced into the Thai bureaucratic

structure based on the BDPA and the ECOSOC 1997/2, which suggested the establishment of focal points and gender units as mechanisms for mainstreaming a gender perspective at an operational scale. The BDPA required that all ministries should be given 'the mandate to review policies and programmes from a gender perspective and in the light of the Platform for Action' (ECOSOC-1995: 129). Similarly, the ECOSOC 1997/2 advised the establishment of 'gender units or focal points' to 'institutionalize mainstreaming of a gender perspective at all levels' (ECOSOC-1997: 6). The statement by a national committee explained the diffusion of the idea of the institutional arrangements for gender mainstreaming from the global scale into the Thai setting:

> Because of the Beijing conference, we thought how we could mainstream a gender perspective. Then, we reached a conclusion to set up a gender focal point in all line ministries to be the mechanism according to the Declaration [The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action]. (NC-18)

The upgrading of the NWM at the national scale and the establishment of the CEGOs and GFPs at the implementation scale illustrates the first gesture of the receptivity of the Thai government of the notion of UN gender mainstreaming into its national boundaries.

However, the findings illustrate that these institutional arrangements were not simply adopted into Thailand. Instead, the arrangements were introduced through a process of negotiation among the policy actors within the country context, as well as through stages of learning and evaluating various countries' experiences while locating gender mainstreaming mechanisms into the Thai setting. A national committee revealed that:

> We think about how to establish a gender focal point as suggested by the BDPA, however, we searched forms and structures from many countries. Finally, we ended up with setting a CGEO as an executive for GFP as we think that this is the best structures for us. (NC-18)

This establishment reflects the evidence that the Thai government did not simply adopt the idea of the institutional arrangements for gender mainstreaming into its setting. Instead, Thailand selected and morphed this idea into its own context. The findings illustrate the idea of non-passive recipient and explain why the introduction of gender mainstreaming mechanisms into the Thai jurisdictions is a non-linear process.

6.3 Gender equality: The agreed goal of gender mainstreaming

Gender equality was also introduced into Thai policy as the goal of gender mainstreaming. This idea has been mutually accepted across the international and nation scale and by the GFPs at the implementation scale, as illustrated by the policy documents and the interviewees below:

> Gender equality as the goal - gender mainstreaming as the strategy. (OSAGI-2002:1)

> The highest goal of gender mainstreaming is to establish gender equality. (OWF-2004: 2)

> Gender equality is the end result that we would like to see. (GO-8)

> Gender equality is the goal for bringing gender issues to the responsibility of all government sectors. (GFP-28)

This common understanding was apparently fully introduced on the same track throughout the movement of gender mainstreaming at the international, national and implementation scales. As policy as a meaning-making (Yanow, 1996; Clarke et al. 2015), this led to the further investigation of how policy documents and the policy actors were explaining the meaning of this “consensus” goal of gender mainstreaming.

6.3.1 The illusion of consensus: multiple interpretations of gender equality

An in-depth analysis of "what did gender equality mean?" revealed a lack of common understanding of the "assumed" consensus goal of gender mainstreaming. Both policy documentary analysis and the interviews illustrated diverse interpretations towards gender equality. From the documentary analysis, gender equality was articulated from a composition of quantity and quality dimensions. The "quantity dimension" referred to an equal number of, and the same rights between women and men, for example, an equal number of representatives in political participation and an equal pay for the equal work. This dimension illustrates the idea of similar basic rights and equal treatment as a human being who is entitled to the same visibility and rights. In contrast, the "qualitative dimension" argued that emphasising only the "same treatment" of women and men cannot guarantee gender equality. Consequently, the qualitative equality highlighted that an awareness of difference in the needs, interests and responsibilities of women and men must be considered in policy processes. The excerpts below illustrated these two common aspects of gender equality portrayed in the international and national documents:

> Equality between women and men has both a quantitative and a qualitative aspect. The quantitative aspect refers to the desire to achieve equitable representation of women - increasing balance and parity, while the qualitative aspect refers to achieving equitable influence on establishing development priorities and outcomes for women and men. (OSAGI-2001b: 1)

> Equality between women and men means equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities. Equality is not limited to sameness and equal treatment. (OWF-2012: 20)

However, policy actors' interpretation of gender equality did not completely coincide with the policy documents. Based on the interviews, the respondents hold various understandings of gender equality, which could be categorised into three forms. These

are (1) the same treatment between women and men, (2) a concern for specific individual needs, and (3) an individual and structural equality.

Regarding the interpretation of the equal treatment, this idea emphasised elevating women's status to be the same as men. The underpinning concept is that when men are entitled rights, women must also enjoy such rights, for example, the right to vote, and the right to education. This idea portrays a principle of basic human rights as universal; all persons should enjoy their rights equally regardless of sex. This notion was commonly found in most of the GFPs respondents and some NWM officials, for example:

> A woman must have rights equally similar to a man, in terms of equality in decision making, participation and allocating resources. (GO-6)

The interpretation of similar treatment, however, at times, tended to be reduced to "equality in quantity". Equality in quantity emphasised only on the idea that women should be represented in the equal numbers to men, for example, in executive or political positions. This understanding was commonly found among the GFPs' interpretation as highlighted below:

> At the present, we have more female government officials than their male counterparts and we have all female executives…. Men have less power and roles. Therefore, gender equality is not a problem in our organisation. (GFP-22)

> We have many women as Director-General and Deputy Director-General, gender equality is no longer an issue. (GFP-29)

The statements above illustrate an assumption by these respondents that the outnumbering of men by women in the bureaucratic system represented that gender

inequality had been eradicated. Then, there was no further need to pursue gender equality.

The second form of the interpretation was in the concern for the specific individual needs of women and men. This understanding suggested that solely looking at the apparent sameness of rights between women and men was insufficient to establish gender equality. It is necessary to consider specific needs or limitations of women and men so as to achieving gender equality. This perception reflected the most similar meaning of gender equality to that established in the policy documents, in which both quantitative and qualitative dimensions were acknowledged. This interpretation was largely found among mostly NWM bureaucrats and a few GFPs. Some respondents including international organisation staff, national committees, academics, and NGO workers also reflected this interpretation, as illustrated below:

> When talking about gender equality, it is not about equal numbers. We need to think about how to empowerment of women as they are marginalised to make them access to equal opportunities. (AC-9)

> Gender equality is bearing in mind that there are differences among women and men. We have to think about these [differences] and not to violate or limit their rights. (GO-6)

> Gender equality is not sameness, but we have to manage…, for example, if we have money, we have to distribute based on their needs, [which are] not the same for everyone. (GFP-27)

The interpretation of gender equality as a specific need reflects the concept of "substantive equality", which coincides with the goal of the CEDAW. Substantive equality means gender equality cannot be guaranteed by legal equality alone, but a special measure is required to guarantee that women are not discriminated against and are treated equally in de facto (Fredman and Goldblatt, 2015). However, the

perception expressed by different respondents regarding a concern with the individual's specific needs had different focuses, as illustrated above. The academics tended to emphasis on the specific needs of women, as women have been discriminated against and marginalised. In contrast, the bureaucrats focused on both women and men's specific needs.

The last interpretation was individual and structural equality. This perspective illustrated a similar recognition to the idea of quantity and quality of gender equality as suggested from the UN and the national policy documents. However, this interpretation went beyond the written policy documents by highlighting a need to challenge the male dominated attitude, values and norms embedded in the structure of society. Such factors, which can be found in a variety context including in the family, workplace, legislation, or parliament had to be challenged, reconstructed and reformed. This perception was rarely found within the study, with only a few academics, national committees, and international organisation officers expressing this idea. For example:

> Gender equality is equality in all aspects in society, this includes legal aspects, substantive equality, and structural equality…I mean the attitudes and beliefs of people in society. (IO-16)

This perception reflects the idea of transformative change which is similar to the interpretation of gender mainstreaming hold by postcolonial feminism, as discussed in Chapter 2. The idea of transformative change needs to tackle the inequality embedded in the institutions and social structures (Squires, 2005; Verloo, 2005; Steans et al., 2010; Mukhopadhyay, 2014).

The findings above demonstrate clearly that gender equality as the goal of gender mainstreaming was evidently transferred into the Thai policy and the policy actors' acknowledgement across different scales. However, this policy goal spoke to and had meaning for policy actors in diverse and distinct ways. The findings also reflect the

argument of policy translation in which an understanding may be apparently shared, but the meaning is not identical (Freeman, 2009).

6.3.2 The evolution of gender equality concept: from a male-female binary to intersectionality

Not only was the nature of gender equality diversely interpreted, but its account had also evolved. Gender equality had been developed from the definition of equality based on a male - female binary concept and had expanded to incorporate the complexity of intersectional inequality over time across the international, national, and the implementation spaces of the movement of gender mainstreaming. At the international scale, the UN policy documents initially suggested the focus on achieving equality was based on a binary concept of sexes: women and men. For example, the ECOSOC AC 1997/2 established the principle of the concept of gender mainstreaming, and pinned the binary concept of equality between women and men, as shown below:

> [Gender mainstreaming] is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of policies and programmes […] so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. (ECOSOC-1997: 28)

Four years after the establishment of this Agreed Conclusion, document analysis showed evidence of the development of the idea to intersectionality as highlighted by postcolonial feminism. The idea of intersectionality was, for example, being aware of the diversity of women and men and sensitising to the different statuses of women as spelled out in the UN guidelines on gender mainstreaming in 2002:

> Women and men are not homogeneous groups. It is important not to generalize across diverse populations, but rather to consider the ways that needs and perspectives of individuals are influenced by a range of factors, including gender. (OSAGI-2002: 4)

The international organisation interviewees also showed acknowledgement of intersectionality regarding the different categories and status of women (IO-3, IO-20). These interviewees also emphasis the idea of intersectionality regarding sexual orientation and gender identity as one of them stated:

> Gender equality has to cover equality for LGBTs. It is not limited to only women and men but should include people who have diverse gender identities and sexualities. (IO-16)

In Thailand, the development of the gender equality concept also corresponded with the international scale. The male - female binary concept was significantly addressed in their policy documents and by the interviewees. For instance, the Handbook for Gender Mainstreaming in 2005 highlighted that 'equality between women and men means equal rights, responsibility, and opportunities' (OWF-2005: 20). The interviewees, who were involved in the formation of Thailand's gender mainstreaming policy, also placed a focus on a binary concept of sexes, as a NWM bureaucrat explained:

> Gender equality means every woman and man has the same opportunities and resources by not using sex to limit their opportunities and capability in accessing the resources. (GO-1)

The notion of gender equality above had officially expanded to the intersectionality to gender equality, particularly sexual orientation and gender identity was prominent in the Gender Equality Act B.E. 2558 (2015). The Act provided an indirect explanation of gender equality by stipulating that females, males, and those who have 'a sexual expression different from that person's original sex' shall be protected from unfair discrimination. Due to the influence of this Act, policy actors tended to develop their understanding of gender equality in accordance with the law, as the government officials explained:

> [Gender Equality] is originally equality between women and men and then, now, for those who have diverse sexual identity. (GO-6)

> After enacting the Act, the Bureau of The Promotion of Equality for Women and Men had to change its name to the Bureau of Gender Equality to be in accordance with the Act…and people started to pay widespread attention to the issue of LGBTs. (GO-4)

This evolution illustrates the fluidity of gender equality as the policy goal through time, and reflects the policy translation perspective in which policy is 'the business of the production and reproduction of meaning' (Jenkins, 2006:7). The possibility of the change of the nature of a policy goal occurs during the negotiation process (Elgstrom, 2000). In this study, it suggests that the legal framework played a crucial part in the evolution of the goal of gender mainstreaming, from male-female binary to expand the idea the intersectionality of gender inequality, particularly sexual orientation and gender identity. However, this evolution creates a tension of the movement of gender mainstreaming, especially in practice, which will be further discussed in Section 8.6.4.4.

6.4 Gender mainstreaming as strategy: Common acknowledgement and transformation

Across scales, gender mainstreaming was commonly accepted as a strategy to achieve gender equality as demonstrated both in the documents and by policy actors:

> [G]ender mainstreaming is a globally accepted strategy for promoting gender equality. (OSAGI-2001a:1)

> My office is responsible for pushing gender mainstreaming strategy, which is the strategy for gender equality. (IO-21)

> To achieve gender equality, gender mainstreaming is a means. (GO-13)

However, the understanding of this "commonly" accepted strategy was distinctly interpreted at different scales, particularly between the international and national scales as analysed in the following sections.

6.4.1 Dual dimensions of the UN gender mainstreaming strategy

From documentary analysis and the interview data, the UN gender mainstreaming strategy was consisted of two complementary dimensions. These are (1) conducting a gender responsive policy, and (2) closing down a gender gap by providing a specific target intervention especially for women, as illustrated from the following excerpts:

> This approach [gender mainstreaming] consists of combining gender-targeted or focused interventions for specific social groups, organizations and/or processes with gender efforts integrated across the substantive general work of all priority sectors. (UN Women-2014: 17)

> It [Gender mainstreaming] is a part of two forms of strategies…one side of this strategy is specifically aimed at women, the other side of this strategy is aimed at women and girls, and men and boys…I mean taking into consideration the project planning…these both can advance gender equality. (IO-20)

The statements above illustrate the concept of the dual tracks of gender mainstreaming strategy. The first track involves conducting a gender responsive policy, by ensuring that the needs and benefits of all citizens are equally addressed. This idea reflects that the UN gave the strong indication that the gender mainstreaming strategy is not only about women's issues, but also included men as a targeted group in the strategy. The second track, empowering women to close the gender gap, portrays the idea that women were marginalised, therefore, the provision of an intervention specifically for women helped to accelerate an achievement of gender equality.

6.4.2 Reinterpretation and transformation of Thailand's gender mainstreaming strategy

In contrast, the gender mainstreaming strategy in the Thai setting was introduced and interpreted differently from the UN concept. The key Thai policy documents, the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 and the OCSC Circular Letter of 11/04/2002, officially introduced the gender mainstreaming strategy by narrowing to focus only a gender responsive dimension within the Thai bureaucratic institutions. These documents largely dealt with the establishment of gender mainstreaming mechanisms and their responsibilities in integrating a gender perspective within their polity, the Cabinet Resolution specified that:

> All ministries and departments shall designate a departmental/ division level in their agencies to act as a focal point to promote equality between women and men in their agencies and formulate a master plan on the promotion of gender equality in their programmes and projects. (SoC-2001: 1).

The above statement shows that the idea of empowerment of women, one part of the UN dual strategy, was excluded from the Thai official documents.

The later documents, for instance, the Handbook for Gender Mainstreaming (OWF-2004), and the Handbook for the Master Plan on the Establishment of Equality between Women and Men (OWF-2012) provided more explanation on the gender mainstreaming strategy. However, these explanations retained the focus on integrating a gender perspective in the bureaucratic institutions, without mentioning on empowering of women. The Thai gender mainstreaming strategy was further explained by these documents as being "an internal and external strategy" in the bureaucratic system. The "internal dimension" was involved with mainstreaming a gender perspective within an institution by centring on human resources and establishing a form of working environment to promote gender equality, as is exemplified here:

> The in-house aspect means internal management of agencies by taking care of their staff in terms of opportunities in being promoted, welfare, and work environment, facilitating staff to show their potentials. (OWF-2012: 15)

The "external dimension" was about bringing a gender perspective into the implementation of the projects of organisations, which impacts on the beneficiaries. For example:

> The outside organisation strategy means the implementation of agency-based projects which have an impact on women and men by applying a gender perspective into budgeting and planning of such projects. (OWF-2012: 15)

These official policy documents shaped the notion of the gender mainstreaming strategy for the Thai policy actors, particularly the NWM and the GFP respondents. These policy agents commonly interpreted the strategy of gender mainstreaming as the "internal and external gender mainstreaming strategies" based on their national documents. A NWM interviewee explained here:

> We introduce to the GFPs [Gender Focal Points] the idea that gender mainstreaming is bringing a gender perspective into their programmes and projects […] Our main focus is [gender mainstreaming] within their organisations and later we advise them to think about [integrating a gender perspective] outside their organisations. (GO-6)

The findings illustrates that the UN two-dimensional gender mainstreaming strategy was reinterpreted, reinvented, and transformed when it was moved from the international scale into Thailand. The official Thai policy on gender mainstreaming seized on the locus of the bureaucratic institution to differentiate the gender mainstreaming strategy within and outside organisations. The transformation of the

UN strategy in the Thai policies and interpretations of the Thai policy actors, was related specifically to the involvement of the Office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) as the key policy actor in the formation of the official gender mainstreaming policy. The roles and influence of the OCSC will be discussed further in Section 7.2.2.

6.4.3 The impact of the transformation of the gender mainstreaming strategy

Due to the transformation of the UN gender mainstreaming strategy in the Thai context, the implementation of gender mainstreaming instead turned into integrating a gender perspective into the Thai bureaucratic system. Governmental organisations had been spending more effort in integrating a gender perspective within their organisations rather than into the policy processes to generate a gender equality outcome for the policy stakeholders. According to the Report of the OWF on the Implementation of the Strategic Plan on Gender Equality Promotion (LOWF-2011: 31), this evidence showed that 95 out of 125 agencies (72.51 percent) designated human resources and secretariat divisions/units to be GFPs. While only 14 agencies (10.68 percent) were assigned a policy and plan section to act as GFPs. The recent name list on GFPs (2016) also repeated the same pattern as mostly GFPs were assigned to human resource unit. Consequently, the integration of gender mainstreaming was focused on human resource management in the civil service system, the existing data on the implementation of gender mainstreaming showed that 75.96 percent of GFPs emphasised on the promotion of gender equality within their agencies, for example, by increasing the number of executive female officials, or developing sex-disaggregated database of human resource management (LOWF-2011: 33).

Similarly, the interview data indicate that the implementation of gender mainstreaming had been perverted to the promotion of gender equality in human resource management in the civil service sector, as a NWM revealed here:

> The implementation of gender mainstreaming placed an importance on collecting sex-disaggregated data of the organisation's workforce, recording the number of female

> and male civil servants who attend training or being committees. (GO-1)

These findings confirmed the finding of Bhongsvej (2009), as discussed in Chapter 3, which found that gender mainstreaming was narrowed down to an increase of the number of female bureaucrats promoted in executive positions. These findings also illustrates that the transformation of Thailand's gender mainstreaming as "within and outside organisation strategies" had restricted the implementation of gender mainstreaming as the in-house personnel management in the bureaucracy.

6.5 Gender mainstreaming as a policy approach

As consistent with the literature in other contexts (Verloo, 1999; Daly, 2005; McGauran, 2009; Alonso, 2016), the notion that gender mainstreaming as a policy approach was also introduced to Thailand. Gender mainstreaming as a policy approach in the global perspective meant that the different concerns, circumstances, and benefits between women and men must be considered and integrated in all policy cycles from planning to evaluation of any government actions to establish gender equality. The ECOSOC AC 1997/2 clearly underpinned that:

> [Gender mainstreaming is] the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. (ECOSOC-1997: 28)

Additionally, the first UN guideline on Gender Mainstreaming addressed the normalisation of gender mainstreaming in policy processes in that:

> [T]he mainstreaming strategy seeks to ensure that gender considerations are routinely included in the assessment of policy issues, options and impacts, along with other considerations such as socio-economic dimensions. (OSAGI-2002:13)

Likewise, the Thai policy document agreed that the gender mainstreaming was a policy approach. However, this idea was not clearly clarified in the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001. This key policy document provided only a little introduction to the idea that the policy approach of gender mainstreaming should be integrated into government actions by 'formulat[ing] a master plan for promoting equality between women and men in programmes and projects' (SoC-2001).

The idea of the gender mainstreaming approach was better explained in the first Handbook for Gender Mainstreaming in 2005 which suggested that gender mainstreaming needs to be integrated into all government actions at two levels (1) macro level, for example, laws and policies; and (2) micro level, for instance, projects and programmes as indicated below:

> …is a process in evaluating the impacts on women and men from the planning and implementation of laws, policy, projects at all levels. (OWF-2005: 1)

The policy actors across institutional settings at all scales also hold a similar perspective to the policy documents. They commonly agreed that integrating a gender perspective into all policy processes was the foundation of gender mainstreaming, as the interviewees stated:

> Gender mainstreaming needs to be integrated into laws, policies, and activities. (IO-16)

> Gender mainstreaming is applying a gender perspective into work, including policies, programmes, and activities in

> public sector to serve an organisation's mission and their targeted groups. (GO-2)

> [Gender mainstreaming] is an integration of a gender issue into policies and budgeting. (GFP-25)

These excerpts show the alignment across scales in the policy documents and the policy actors of the perception that gender mainstreaming was a policy approach. However, the way in which the policy actors explained how to integrate a gender perspective as a policy approach considerably varied, this is discussed in further detail in the following sections.

6.5.1 The technocratic instruments of gender mainstreaming

To integrate a gender perspective into the policy process, gender mainstreaming was introduced as technocratic instruments in the Thai bureaucratic system. The main tools found from the findings were (1) sex-disaggregated data, (2) gender analysis, and (3) gender responsive budgeting.

Sex-disaggregated data was suggested by UN as a means to provide an explanation for gender inequality situations (OSAGI-2002: 21). The main idea of the sex-disaggregated data was to '[c]ollect, compile, analyse and present on a regular basic data disaggregated by age, sex, socioeconomic and other relevant indicators, …' (ECOSOC-1995:130-131). Colleting sex-disaggregated data was introduced into the Thai institutional setting as a basic requirement for gender mainstreaming. The evidence was illustrated by the documents and from the interviewees at national and by the implementation scale.

> Sex-disaggregated data facilitates the analysis for policy planning and evaluation at all levels (OWF-2005)

> Sex-disaggregated data has been collected every year and reported to the Department [DWF] (GFP-22)

However, the collection of sex-disaggregated data was diverse and based on the interpretations of the policy actors of the gender mainstreaming strategy as discussed in Section 6.4.3. The documentary analysis showed that collecting sex-disaggregated data in the non-awarded GFPs tended to be limited within "in-house management" such as collecting the number of female and male officials, executives, and committees in their organisations. However, in some awarded GFPs showed that collecting the sex-disaggregated data tended to extend to "outside-organisation", for instance, gathering the sex-disaggregated data of the service users in a public service.

For GFP interviewees, most of them revealed that the tool was simply "taken for granted", as a GFP official explained:

> I collected the sex-disaggregated data and report to my CGEOs and my Director-General annually, but I have no idea about the implication of this kind of data. I also don't have a clue what the DWF have done with my data. They just said that this was something required for reporting to an international conference. (GFP-27)

This finding illustrates that the sex-disaggregated tool could not be embedded into the policy process of the implementation of the GFPs because most GFPs did not recognise the implications and the benefits of this tool for their policy process.

As regards gender analysis, this was introduced by the UN as the tool for policy development and service delivery by taking into account the different needs and problems of women and men and by not assuming that these are necessarily the same. Their differences in status and experiences can result in dissimilar social and economic inequalities. A UN Handbook on Gender Mainstreaming indicated that:

> [Gender Analysis] is ask[ing] questions about the responsibilities, activities, interests and priorities of women and men, and how their experience of problems may differ. (OSAGI-2002: 3)

Gender analysis was extensively suggested for using in policy process in the Thai context. Various Thai documents, for example, the Handbook for Gender Analysis in 2004 (OWF-2004), the Handbook for Gender Mainstreaming in 2005 (OWF-2005), highlighted that gender analysis was a preliminary step for gender mainstreaming. Likewise, the NWM government officials and academics indicated that gender analysis was an initial focus to instruct to GFPs as they stated:

> The trainings for GFPs included a basic understanding of sex and gender. This was followed by gender analysis, using a case example and letting them analyse the cases based on the criteria of gender analysis, for example, tasks and responsibilities between women and men; access, control, benefits from resources; and discrimination. (GO-4)

> My training design [for GFPs] was based on gender analysis to allow participants to assess their policies on who controls the resources and power and how discrimination impacts on women and men. (AC-19)

Nevertheless, the GFPs disclosed that this gender mainstreaming tool could not be settled in implementation because of the issue of "knowing what" but not "knowing how" to apply this tool into their practice. A GFP admitted that:

> I know the concept of gender analysis, but I rarely adopted this analysis into my policy. I have no idea how this analysis related to my project. (GFP-22)

This evidence shows that although gender analysis was introduced into implementation settings, this was not guarantee that the tool could be utilised in practice.

To support the adoption of gender mainstreaming into the policy process, Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) was also suggested into the Thai setting. At international

scale, this tool was initially mentioned in the BDPA as the allocation of 'adequate mobilization resource' for integrating a gender perspective at all levels (ECOSOC-1995). The implication of GRB was to challenge a gender neutral policy budgeting process by analysing public expenditure; beneficiary assessments; and the impact of the budget based on sex and age disaggregated data to ensure that a government provided necessary budgets to implement and achieve the goal of gender mainstreaming (UN Women-2014: 28).

The documentary analysis and the interview findings suggested that GRB was officially introduced in Thailand in 2006. The OWF (the NWM at that time) disseminated this idea through training, with assistance from an international NGO, and consulted with some government agencies about the possibility of applying GRB in the Thai government sector (RTG-2010: 2). A NWM interviewee suggested that GRB was more obvious in 2009 because of the theme of the 52nd session on the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), which was 'financing for gender equality and the empowerment of women' (GO-1). This international conference could trigger the transfer of the GRB in the Thai setting, for example, the NWM started to develop the first guideline on GRB and organise a pilot training for some GFPs, to disseminate the idea of GRB (RTG-2010; GO-1).

Nevertheless, the implementation of GRB was uneven as it was intermittent in 2010 because of the rotation of the main responsible staff in the NWM. Although the GRB was revived again in 2013 with the financial and technical support from independent and international organisations, interview data suggest that the idea of GRB could not be embedded in policy practice. This was because the GFPs could not apply GRB into their routine work of the organisations' policy process as GFP officials' revealed:

> I have heard of the concept of GRB and I think I understand it. But, I do not know how to bring this into my routine work and my organisation because my organisation does not provide any budget to the public. (GFP-25)

> Gender budgeting is interesting, but I do not feel it fits with my responsibility. It involves the Planning and Budgeting Section. I tried to engage them to attend the training, but they ignored it and mentioned that GRB could not apply in our organisation. (GFP-30)

The statements above indicate that, similar to the other transferred gender mainstreaming tools, the GFP officials who were responsible for implementing gender mainstreaming recognised the concept of GRB, but they could not utilise this tool into practice.

6.5.2 Pluralistic interpretations of gender mainstreaming as the policy approach

The previous two sections have discussed the "common" recognition of gender mainstreaming as a policy approach equipped with tools for applying in policy process. However, the interview findings revealed the multiple interpretations of the Thai policy actors in "how to" mainstream a gender perspective as a policy approach. These interpretations included perceiving the policy approach of gender mainstreaming as (1) an add-on issue, (2) a cross-cutting issue, and (3) micro and macro issues. Perceiving the gender mainstreaming approach as "an add-on issue" was to simply incorporate gender mainstreaming instruments into existing policies or activities. The main activities were collecting a sex-disaggregated data, formulating a plan on gender equality promotion in an organisation, and inserting training on gender issues in a training course for new staff. This interpretation was commonly found from all GFP interviewees and the majority of the the NWM respondents. A GFP official stated:

> The way to integrate a gender perspective is not complicated, it just involves bringing tools like gender analysis into every aspects of policy such as policy formulation. (GFP-25)

Some of the interviewees expressed that integrating a gender perspective was more comprehensible at micro policy level such as a project than at the macro level, as a bureaucrat explained:

> When looking at gender mainstreaming, I focus on integrating a gender perspective in terms of projects and activities. I think it is more tangible. Gender mainstreaming into policies is too broad. (GO-6)

The excerpts revealed a simplification that turns gender mainstreaming into a bureaucratic tool without addressing the structural inequalities, which is against the postcolonial feminist perspective in advocating dismantling unbalance power structure as discussed in Chapter 2.

The interpretation of the gender mainstreaming policy approach as "a cross-cutting issue" emphasised integrating a gender perspective in crossed and multi sectoral issues, agencies, and disciplines. Although, this interpretation was attached to a bureaucratic system, this perspective moved beyond working in a single space of each ministry. This understanding was highlighted by international organisation officers in the country office, NGO workers, some national committees, some NWM officials and academics, as a respondent stated:

> When you talk about gender mainstreaming, this involves other sectoral issues, whether they are education, health, employment (IO-3)

As regards perceiving the gender mainstreaming policy approach as involving "micro and macro issues", this perception broadened the notion of policy approach more than the previous two interpretations. By looking at the macro level, gender mainstreaming was not being limited to within the bureaucratic system (micro level), but this was related to integrating a gender perspective into societal structures, for example, family, school, and workplace, as an interviewee stated:

> Mainstreaming a perspective has many levels; this depends on how people perceive gender mainstreaming. We have implemented gender mainstreaming only at organisational level. But for me, I see gender mainstreaming at societal level, this should integrate in all levels and aspects (IO-16)

This perspective significantly links with the transformative goal of gender mainstreaming suggested by postcolonial feminists as discussed in Chapter 2. However, this interpretation was less common in the findings, particularly it was not found in bureaucrats who were designed to be the facilitators of gender mainstreaming by the Cabinet Resolution. Only a few of the interviewees such as international organisation officers and academics highlighted this perspective.

The findings above suggested that even though policy actors commonly agreed that gender mainstreaming was a policy approach, they hold multiple views on how to integrate gender mainstreaming into a policy process. These pluralistic interpretations of the approach of gender mainstreaming reflect the idea that policy meaning is never singular (Clarke et al., 2015) as policy actors interpreted and adopted the meaning of the policy in distinct ways.

Section 6.2 - 6.5 has outlined the elements of the notion of gender mainstreaming which was introduced and adopted into the Thai institutional contexts at national and implementation scales. However, these elements were not simply moved from the UN into Thailand. In each section has been explained how these elements were translated based on the diverse interpretations of the policy actors, which impacted on the implementation and disjuncture of this policy when it is moved across scales. The next section will describe key reasons why the policy actors hold plural views to these elements of gender mainstreaming.

6.6 Diverse interpretations and the conceptualisations of gender mainstreaming by policy actors

The causes of the pluralistic perspectives on the notion of gender mainstreaming held by the policy actors stem from various factors, which are explained below:

6.6.1 Policy documents as the initial source of policy actors' understanding

Policy documents were found as a preliminary source for policy actors to seek their understanding on gender mainstreaming. However, the extent to which they could rely on policy documents was based on the clarity of the notion of gender mainstreaming provided by these documents. For international organisation officers, what was remarkable was their source of the understanding of gender mainstreaming were mainly the official UN documents; these documents shaped and framed their conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming. This could explain why their interpretations of gender mainstreaming were similar. The international organisation respondents were clear and certain that their understanding of gender mainstreaming referred to the UN key documents, as one of them explained that:

> I would say this [the concept of gender mainstreaming] is something that needs to be referenced rather than [informed] by opinions…There are key documents, one is CEDAW […]the Beijing Platform for Actions [and] ECOSOC 1997/2. (IO-20)

The above statement clearly illustrates that the policy document was the main source of understanding of the international organisation officers. Even though the BDPA did not conceptualise gender mainstreaming when it was adopted in 1995, this concept was later established in the ECOSOC AC 1997/2 in 1997. This policy document profoundly framed the direction of the understanding of gender mainstreaming as illustrated by the later developed UN documents, referring to the ECOSOC AC 1997/2. For example, Fact Sheet 3: The Development of the Gender Mainstreaming Strategy (OSAGI-2001c:1) stated that '[t]he ECOSOC Agreed Conclusions 1997/2 provided a clear definition of the mainstreaming strategy.' Similarly, the first guidance on gender mainstreaming developed by OSAGI in 2002 highlighted that 'ECOSOC agreed conclusions (1997/2) established some important overall principles for gender mainstreaming' (OSAGI-2002: v). This evidence exemplifies the power of the ECOSOC AC 1997/2 in shaping the understanding of gender mainstreaming.

When considering how this understanding was established in Thailand, the main local documents applied the notion of the UN gender mainstreaming only in part, through the linguistic translation and interpretation of the main policy actors, the NWM and the OCSC (See Chapter 7). The documentary analysis suggested that the conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming in the Thai key policy documents, the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/ 2001 and the Circular letter No. 0708/ว3, did not copy from the UN documents directly. Instead, these Thai policy documents selected some UN ideas, and interpreted and reinvented the notion of gender mainstreaming, for example, the dimension gender mainstreaming strategy as discussed in Section 6.4.2. Rather than pining down an understanding of the concept of gender mainstreaming as the ECOSOC 1997/2 did, the Cabinet Resolution focused on the establishment of the gender mainstreaming mechanisms in the Thai bureaucratic system, and reinvented the gender mainstreaming dimensions as "internal and external bureaucratic institutions".

Although the later key policy document, the Circular Letter No. 0708/ว3, was produced, this did not provide a clear concept of gender mainstreaming. Similarly, the Cabinet Resolution, the Circular Letter specified the responsibility of the CEGOs and GFPs with only an elusive concept of gender mainstreaming, as it stated:

> …promote equality between women and men in the public sector […] by organising activities according to a master plan of an agency (OCSC-2002:1)

> …to promote an understanding of gender issues for government officials to raise awareness and integrate a gender perspective in their work (OCSC-2002:1)

As illustrated above, in contrast to the international scale, the main Thai policy documents failed to provide a source of understanding or shared meaning of gender mainstreaming for the Thai policy actors. In turn, these documents affect the way in which Thai policy actors conceptualise gender mainstreaming as it creates the space of uncertainty and diversity to understand the concept. This gap demonstrates that documents are a crucial source of how policy is shaped, and the way people work and

organise their activities within political organisations (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004; Freeman and Maybin, 2011). The next section will further explain how the Thai policy actors pursued their understanding of the notion of gender mainstreaming.

6.6.2 Distinct sources of understanding and the backgrounds of policy actors

Given that the concept of gender mainstreaming provided by the Thai official policy documents limited the understanding of the Thai policy actors, these policy agents strove to expand their sources of understanding, which were limited by their distinct background in being able to access the different sources. The policy actors' backgrounds found in this study included background knowledge, experiences, and English proficiency. Interview data suggested four categories of the relationship between the sources of understanding and backgrounds of the Thai policy actors, as demonstrated by Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Summary of sources of understanding and policy actors' backgrounds and experience

Group	Types of policy actors	Main sources of understanding	Backgrounds/experience
1	National committees Academics NGOs Few NWM officials	UN documents	• Familiar to gender issues • Attended UN conferences • Experienced working with international organisations • Experienced in study abroad (especially from "Western" countries • Have English proficiency
2	Few NWM officials	A combination of English and Thai documents, but tended to rely on English documents	• Gender issues as a new issue • Have English proficiency
3	The majority of the NWM officials	Mainly from secondary sources from Thai academic documents, academics/policy entrepreneurs	• Gender issues as a new issue • Limited English proficiency
4	GFP officials	Based on the secondary sources from the NWM and the academics/policy entrepreneurs	• Gender issues as a new issue

Source: Author's analysis from interview data

Group 1 relied on the UN documents as the primary source of their understanding. This group was mostly respondents who were national committees, academics, NGO workers and few NWM government officials. These policy actors tended to familiarise with the notion of gender mainstreaming through having gained experience by attending international conferences or working with international organisations. Some of them were also involved in the process of the establishment of the BDPA. Many respondents in this group were graduated, or were trained on gender issues from abroad, generally from the Global North. The source of understanding of this group of policy actors and their schemata are evidenced by the extracts below:

> I understand the concepts of UN [BDPA] as I was involved in the process of BDPA. I basically use this document as my references when working on a gender issue. (NC-7)

> I learned about gender mainstreaming, which at that time was starting from gender analysis, from international consultants and from the UN and international donor documents. (AC-9)

> I was familiar with the UN documents as I gained my degree in gender abroad. I always check with the UN documents when I am in doubt with the gender concept as Thai documents are not well explained such concept. (NGO-11)

First-hand experiences in international meetings, especially UN meetings also played a crucial part in enhancing the understanding of gender mainstreaming of the policy actors in Group 1. For instance,

> I had a chance to attend international conferences on women. Then, I understood [...] gender discrimination. I used the results of these conferences to open up my opportunity in working in this area. (NC-18)

The findings illustrate that Group 1 worked closely with the UN documents and in settings in which they could access these sources by themselves through their direct experience.

In contrast with Group 1, Groups 2 and 3, who were mostly made up of the NWM officials and were expected to be the key actors in disseminating the notion of gender mainstreaming to other jurisdictions, revealed that they were "unfamiliar" with the concept. One interviewee admitted that 'gender mainstreaming was a new issue…started around in 2000…only a few staff understood this issue' (GO-1). Due to the lack of a clear explanation of gender mainstreaming in the national policy as discussed in Section 6.6.1, the Thai government officials could not rely on these documents to study this "unfamiliar issue". Therefore, each group developed their own comprehension based on the sources that they could access, as discussed below.

Group 2, the NWM officials who had English proficiency, gained an understanding from a mixture of sources including English and Thai documents. They used their knowledge of the English language to access the international documents, including the UN documents as their main source of understanding. Based on the sources, they conceptualised the idea through their own interpretations and then disseminated this idea to other organisations, especially to the GFPs. The statements below demonstrated the role of English in enhancing access to the international documents as a source of understanding for this group.

> I had no prior knowledge about gender issues, when I started working here…I gained knowledge by myself studying from UN documents and best practices from other countries as I am able to understand English. Then, I communicated this issue to other departments. (GO-1)

> A person who understands the English language has a better understanding of gender mainstreaming. The explanation [on gender mainstreaming] in Thai documents was not clear and confused. I always refer to the UN documents when I

> am in doubt about gender issues because the English documents provide a better idea and explanation of what the issues are. (GO-8)

In contrast, Group 3, the majority of the NWM respondents who had limited English proficiency, gained their main understanding of gender mainstreaming from the secondary sources from academics/policy entrepreneurs and self-study, mainly from Thai documents. One NWM official revealed that 'I read about gender issues from Thai academic papers and websites' (GO-2). Furthermore, as a result of inadequate on-the-job training, the NWM officials had a limited understanding of practical gender issues and gender mainstreaming when they worked. They usually learned about gender issues at the same time as GFP officials "through the back door" when they organised a training session for GFPs. This struggle is illustrated below:

> I have no background knowledge on gender issues, I learned this when I organised a training session for GFPs from other departments and ministries. I learned from the speakers; I mean an academic that we invited. This made me have a better understanding on the issue, but I had to organise the meeting. Then, I was unable to listen to the whole sessions; I had to manage things and tried to learn from the speakers at the same time. (GO-6)

According to Group 3, a lack of an English proficiency limited them in studying directly from the international documents as a NWM official revealed:

> Frankly, I have no idea what the UN concept on gender mainstreaming is. I am not good at in English. Not every person, who is responsible for working on gender mainstreaming with GFPs understands about the UN gender ideas. (GO-2)

The above statement shows that language was a barrier for policy actors, particularly the NWM officials to acquire their understanding from the UN sources. This barrier distanced them from the UN concept of gender mainstreaming.

Group 4 mostly consisted of the GFPs staff. They mainly gained understanding from the secondary data sources from the NWM, academics and policy entrepreneurs. These sources were, for instance, annual training sessions, handbooks, handouts, and online information from the NWM website. One GFP official mentioned that:

> I mainly learned about a gender issue from the NWM, particularly from the training session. If I could not understand, I went further by visiting their website. (GFP- 22)

This section has illustrated that the diverse conceptualisation of the Thai policy actors was influenced by their ease of access to different sources of understanding of gender mainstreaming, which associate to their background knowledge, professional experience, and English language proficiency.

6.7 Diverse interpretations and linguistic translation

Gender mainstreaming was constructed within the Western dominated institutions where English is a medium language used for articulating this notion. When this concept has been moved to Thailand where the Thai language is the medium of communication, the issue around linguistic translation emerged during the movement process. This is because policy 'is made in words and it moves' (Freeman, 2009: 431). This section explains the multifaceted linguistic translation and its links to the diverse interpretations when the notion of gender mainstreaming has been moved in the Thai institutions. The section firstly illustrates the complication when the Thai policy actors linguistically translated the concept of gender mainstreaming into their local language. After that, the politics of translation will be discussed to indicate the complexity and contested nature of the linguistic translation.

6.7.1 The intricacy of linguistic translation into the Thai language

The linguistic translation into Thai language was the first task for the introduction of the idea of gender mainstreaming into the Thai setting. This was evident from the document analysis and the interviews. Thailand's Reply to the Questionnaire on the Implementation of the BDPA' in 1999, for example, indicated that:

> The Beijing Platform for Action, both the full text and the summary version, was translated into national language. (RTG-1999)

In the same vein, one executive official highlighted that:

> After coming back from Beijing, we translated the BDPA into our language so that we could disseminate this idea to others. (NC-7)

However, this study found that the translation from English into Thai language was complex involved with four issues: multiplicity, evolution, inconsistency, and a failure in conveying the substantive meaning of gender mainstreaming. Regarding the multiplicity, the concept of gender mainstreaming and its related concepts such as gender and gender equality were translated into Thai in multiple ways. "Gender mainstreaming" was translated and adopted in the policy documents and by policy actors using different Thai terms, for instance:

> "บทบาทหญิงชายในการพัฒนากระแสหลัก" [literal translation as the roles of women and men in the mainstream development] (OCSC-OWF-2003)

> "การสร้างกระแสความเสมอภาค" [literal translation as mainstreaming of equality] (OWF-2006; NLA-17)

> “การบูรณาการมิติหญิงชาย” [literal translation as the integration of the dimensions of women and men] (OWF-2010b: OWF-2012; AC- 9; GO-6)

> “การบูรณาการมิติความเสมอภาคทางเพศ” [literal translation as the integration of dimensions of equality of the sexes] (DWF-2016)

Similarly, the term “gender” was also translated into Thai in various manners, including:

> “บทบาทความสัมพันธ์หญิงชาย” [literal translation as roles and relations of women and men] (OWF-2004)

> “ความเป็นหญิงความเป็นชาย” [literal translation as femininity and masculinity] (OWF-2012; AC-9; NLA-12)

> “มิติหญิงชาย” [literal translation as dimensions of women and men] (OWF-2005; GO-6; NLA-17)

> “บทบาทความสัมพันธ์หญิงชาย” [literal translation as roles and relations between women and men] (OWF-2005; AC-19)

> “เพศภาวะ” [presence of the sexes] (NGO-11; IO-16)

Likewise, the term “gender equality” was adopted into Thai as:

> “ความเสมอภาคหญิงชาย” [literal translation as equality between women and men] (OWF-2005; GO-4; GO-8; GO-13; GO-10; GFP-22; AC-9; NLA-17; GFP-24; GFP-25)

“ความเสมอภาคระหว่างเพศ” [literal translation as equality between sexes] (DWF-2015; NGO-11)

“ความเสมอภาคทางเพศ” [literal translation as equality of sexes] (GO-1; GO-2; NLA-12; IDO-14; NGO-15; GFP-28))

Reflecting the different periods in which these terminologies were introduced into Thailand, the Thai translation illustrates the evolution and inconsistency of the translation. The document analysis indicated this struggle. “Gender mainstreaming” was translated in the first Handbook on Gender mainstreaming in 2003 as “บทบาทหญิงชายในการพัฒนากระแสหลัก” [literal translation as the roles of women and men in mainstream development] (OCSC-OWF-2003). In contrast, the recent conference document for CGEOs in 2016 suggested the Thai lexicon as “การบูรณาการมิติความเสมอภาคทางเพศ” [literal translation as the integration of dimensions of equality of sexes] (DWF-2016:18). Likewise, within the Thai official documents the word “gender” evolved through time. In 2004, this lexicon was translated into Thai as “บทบาทและความสัมพันธ์หญิงชาย” [literal translation as roles and relations between women and men] (OWF-2004). However, in 2012, “ความเป็นหญิงความเป็นชาย” [literal translation as femininity and masculinity] (OWF-2012) was used to refer to this term. Similarly, “gender equality” was inconsistently translated in the official documents. It was adopted as “ความเสมอภาคหญิงชาย” [literal translation as equality between women and men] (OCSC-OWF- 2003) in 2003, while, this term appeared as “ความเสมอภาคทางเพศ” in 2015 [literal translation as equality of sexes] (RTG-2015).

The diverse and evolved linguistic translation into Thai language showed the contested nature of these translations as there were no agreed terminologies. The individual policy documents and policy actors adopted different Thai lexicons which impacted on the understanding of the respondents of gender mainstreaming as one GFP stated:

> Different speakers use various terms to explain this concept, I am confused what actually they mean and which word is the right one to explain this concept to others. (GFP-25)

Furthermore, the translated Thai terminologies of gender mainstreaming and its related concepts failed to convey substantive meaning and did not provide an understanding of this concept when communicating this policy within the Thai institutional settings. The respondents across international, national, and implementation scales all expressed their struggle over the existing Thai terminologies as they revealed:

> Gender is translated in "เพศสภาพ" [the conditions of sexes].
>
> Does this Thai word provide us an accurate understanding? I don't think it does… (IO-1)

> It is difficult… Integrating a gender perspective into the mainstream…what is "mainstream"? When we use Thai words …this is hard to understand. […] I took time to explain and use an analogy of the stream of canals and rivers to visualise the word "mainstream". (AC-9)

> Gender is translated as "เพศสภาพ" [the conditions of sexes].
>
> I had to give a Thai explanation for this word to clarify to others, which is not that easy. (GFP-28)

The statements above illustrates that the existing Thai terminology tended to limit policy actors' ability to communicate the shared meaning of the idea to others policy actors. These Thai terms created the ambiguity and multiple interpretations of this concept by the policy actors, especially the NWM and the GFP officials who were expected by the Cabinet Resolution to disseminate and implement this policy. The next section provides more explanations as to why the policy actors linguistically

translated and diversely introduced the Thai terminologies in the Thai institutional settings.

6.7.2 Politics of linguistic translation

The diverse, evolving, and confused translation in Thai terminologies, discussed in Section 6.7.1, illustrate aspects of politics of linguistic translation. The politics of translation found in this study were categorised into three aspects. The first aspect was the use of the linguistic translation to advocate the policy actors' standpoints based on their beliefs, values, and interpretations of the gender issues. The interviewees' statements at the national and implementation scales illustrated this aspect.

> I adopted the term "บทบาทความสัมพันธ์หญิงชาย" [roles and relations between women and men] because my standpoint is Marxist feminism. This word is based on gender analysis by examining the roles and the relations between women and men and how this affects the status of women and men in society. (AC-19)

> Gender equality for me is "ความเสมอภาคหญิงชาย" [equality of women and men]. I believe that the notion of gender derives from the basis of biological sexes – female and male. We, then, have to focus on this as a baseline for working on this issue. (GO-4)

> I used the term "ความเสมอภาคทางเพศ" [equality of the sexes] instead of "ความเสมอภาคหญิงชาย" [equality of women and men] for gender equality. We have more than two sexes, not only women and men, but other sexes (GFP-24)

The above statements clearly demonstrate that language is a medium to reveal the position and identity of policy agents (Epstein, 2010).

Utilising linguistic translation to achieve a specific goal is the second aspect of the politics of translation. The respondents adopted the translated Thai terminologies in order to achieve particular, but different, goals. In the case of government officials who were involved in the initiation of the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001, they very cautiously employed the Thai lexicon in this key policy document to stay off resistance to the introduction of the policy from those embedded within the patriarchal structure in the Thai institutions, as a national committee explained:

> Use of the Thai terms was carefully thought out. We termed the word CGEO [Chief Gender Equality Officer] in Thai as "ผู้บริหารด้านการส่งเสริมบทบาทหญิงชาย" [The literal translation of this Thai word is "Executive for the Promotion of the Roles of Women and Men"]. We did not directly employ the Thai word for gender equality in the title of CGEO to reduce the resistance from those who were against women's rights. (NC-18)

Policy actors also decided to adopt the translated lexicons in order to seek cooperation from other policy actors aiming to achieve their goals. This finding idea was illustrated by the case of an international organisation officer at the country office. This officer revealed that:

> I chose to use the Thai terms which were adopted by the government. If I adopted different terms, this might make trouble when we work together. (IO-3)

Thus, one can see that Thai lexicons are not simply translated or adopted, but the selection and the adoption of the words are based on conscious choice as suggested by Freeman (2009) and often with a purpose and the policy actors' goals in mind. This reflects that translation 'serves a purpose, and therefore an interest' (Hermans, 2000: 15) of the policy agents.

The third political aspect of the translation was based on who gained the authority in defining the Thai terminologies. Since the emergence of women's rights and the gender equality movement in Thailand, the word "equality" has been translated in Thai as "ความเสมอภาค" [khwam samoephak]. Meanwhile, the term "gender equality" had been extensively translated and has adopted the Thai words of "ความเสมอภาคทางเพศ" [khwam samoephak thang phet - equality of the sexes] or "ความเสมอภาคหญิงชาย" [khwam samoephak ying chai - equality between women and men] as evidenced by various Thai documents and the interviewees as discussed in 6.7.1. Nevertheless, after the enactment of the Act namely "พระราชบัญญัติความเท่าเทียมระหว่างเพศ" [Phraratchabanyat khwam thaothiem rahwang phet] in 2015, translated in English as Gender Equality Act, the term "khwam thaothiem" [equality] was suggested by this law instead of the word "khwam samoephak" [equality].

The interviewees who involved in the process of drafting the law (GO-1; GO-13) revealed that the initial draft of this law, purposed by the OWF, the NWM at that time, suggested the term "khwam samoephak" [equality] based on the long standing and widely adopted version of this word in the Thai translated documents and by the policy agents who worked in women's rights and the gender equality field. However, the word "khwam samoephak" [equality] was rejected by the Office of the Council of State, who had authority over considering and passing the draft law to the parliament. The Office of the Council of State, based on their legal perspective, affirmed the adoption the Thai word for "equality" as "khwam thaothiem".

The competing linguistic translation caused confusion over the adoption of the word "gender equality" in Thai. At times, the word "khwam samoephak" and "khwam thaothiem" were used interchangeably in Thai society. The majority of the interviewees suggested that "khwam thaothiem", the legal definition, implied a "quantity equality" or "sameness" connotation, which was not equivalent to the substantive meaning of gender equality. Consequently, most of the interviewees, for example, national committees, international organisation officers at Thailand's office, the NWM government officials, NGOs, and academics expressed their reluctance to adopt the

term “khwam thaothiem rahwang phet” according to the Act when discussing the idea of gender equality outside the Law context, as a NWM official explained here:

> The word “khwam thaothiem rahwang phet” is like the idea of counting football scores. It represents the idea of the sameness…[this] doesn’t show any sense of the foundation meaning of gender equality. (GO-1)

This aspect of the politics in translation illustrates that the alternation of the translation based on who gained authority over defining the terms. This finding reflects the idea of Spivak (1992:188) that ‘the act of translating into the Third World language is often a political exercise of a different sort’, in which those who hold the higher power are entitled to select, define, and make the decision on the wording.

6.8 Conclusion and discussion

This chapter has empirically demonstrated that policy movement is not a simple linear process by investigating the movement of the notion of UN gender mainstreaming in the Thai setting. The problematic nature of the “monolith” of gender mainstreaming, a concept which has been ignored and remains unexplained particularly in Thai literature, has been revealed from the findings. This study has illustrated that not all elements of gender mainstreaming could be transferred to Thailand. This is because the movement of gender mainstreaming was a meaning-making process which related to the construction of policy meaning by policy actors, and involves the way in which the power relations operated during the journey of gender mainstreaming. The key findings in relation to Research Question 1 “What elements of gender mainstreaming have been introduced into the Thai context and how have these elements interpreted?” are as follows:

- Four elements of UN gender mainstreaming which were introduced into Thailand included (1) the forms of gender mainstreaming mechanisms, (2) gender equality: the goal of gender mainstreaming, (3) the gender mainstreaming strategy and (4) the policy approaches of gender mainstreaming.

- The movement of the elements above was not a simple process of replication. Instead, it was multifaceted as these elements were variously interpreted and reinterpreted as well as morphed and transformed by the Thai policy actors during the journey of gender mainstreaming. This complexity resulted in an unsettling of policy meaning regarding plurality, evolution, and transformation of the concept of gender mainstreaming.

- The unsettling of the gender mainstreaming meanings was caused by the multiple sources of understanding accessed by the policy actors due to policy actors' knowledge backgrounds, professional experience, and level of English proficiency. The unsettling policy meanings also interconnected with linguistics translation and politics of those translations when gender mainstreaming travels across sites and languages.

The four elements of the UN gender mainstreaming introduced into Thailand reflect the idea of "what is transferred?" (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000; Evans and Davies, 1999) as discussed in Chapter 4. The arrangements for gender mainstreaming mechanisms exemplifies 'institution' transfer (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000:12) and can be located in 'hard transfer' which is the transfer of structure, programmes, and activities from one setting to another (Evans and Davies, 1999: 382). In contrast, gender equality: the goal of gender mainstreaming, the gender mainstreaming strategy, and the policy approaches of gender mainstreaming reflect the transfer of 'policy goals', 'policy content', and 'policy instruments' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000: 12) respectively. These elements also mirror 'soft transfers' which describes the transfer of ideas, concepts, and attitudes (Evans and Davies, 1999: 382).

However, the hard and soft transfers of UN gender mainstreaming to Thai institutions was not a replica. The hard transfer element, the gender mainstreaming mechanisms, was not literally transferred from the supranational to the Thai context. Instead, the transfer was conducted through a mixture of policy learning from other countries and negotiation among the Thai bureaucrats to arrange and establish the NWM, as well as the CGEOs and GFPs as the implementation gender mainstreaming mechanisms in

the Thai institutions. The findings indicate the complexity of policy in motion where the movement of policy is not a simple and straightforward process of duplication (Jones et al, 2004; McCann and Ward, 2013). As regards the soft transfer elements, the movement of these elements demonstrates the unsettling of policy meaning in which policy 'is never a completed object' because policy becomes 'unsettled, reformed, and reconnected' as it travels across sites (Clarke et al., 2015: 15 -16). The unsettling of the policy meaning has demonstrated in this study in three ways of understanding: the plurality, the evolution, and the transformation of gender mainstreaming.

With regard to the plurality, this has been illustrated by the multiple understandings of the policy goal and the policy approaches of gender mainstreaming, hold by the policy actors. For the policy goal, policy actors commonly acknowledge that gender equality is the goal of gender mainstreaming. However, policy actors held multiple views of this "common" goal as (1) the same treatment between men and women; (2) a concern for a specific individual; or (3) individual and structural equality. These multiple meanings of gender equality found in this study share similarities with the European typology of gender equality in Chapter 2 (Rees, 1998; 2005; Verloo; 2001; Booth and Bennett, 2002). The concept of 'equal opportunity'; 'positive action'; 'gender perspective' or labelled by Rees as 'tinkering' 'tailoring' and 'transforming' found in Europe can also be useful for explaining the Thai context. The interpretation of gender equality as the same treatment between men and women involved how women can be guaranteed equal treatment and representation by using legislation to give them the same opportunities as men; this interpretation is equivalent to the 'tinkering' approach. In terms of gender equality as a concern for an individual specific need, by considering and providing a specific measure to respond to those needs, for example, providing a specific health service for women based on their sexual reproductive needs. This finding can be compatible with 'tailoring'. However, this study distinctly indicates that the notion of specific intervention in Thailand is divided. National Legislative Assembly and academic respondents stressed that an intervention should be specifically for women who are marginalised and disadvantage. In contrast, the majority of the bureaucrats perceive that gender equality should serve for both women and men's needs. Regarding the perception of gender equality as individual and

structural equality, this interpretation included addressing gender discrimination against an individual as well as gender inequality in social structures which causes discrimination and marginalisation. This finding can be compared with the 'transforming' approach.

However, this study further shows that the diverse interpretations of gender equality in the Thai context was not developed based on chronological orders as suggested by Rees (1998; 2005).The concept of gender equality in Thailand was comprised of mixed perceptions of "equal opportunity", "positive action", and "gender perspective", held by different individual policy actors. These findings support the argumentation of Booth and Bennett (2002) and Daly (2005) in advising that gender equality is not separate and frozen in time. The three interpretations of gender equality are not separate and emerging in Thailand at the same period. The concept of gender equality as equal opportunity and as specific intervention tended to dominate in official documents and practice, in which the principle of gender perspective, which highlights to transform the structural inequalities, is less acknowledged. This is because most bureaucrats, who have been authorised to disseminate and implement gender mainstreaming, hold the equal opportunity and specific intervention perspectives only. The findings suggest that the domination over the direction of the meaning of gender equality in policy and practice in Thailand, is based on who holds the power and then reflects their own meaning onto the official process.

The policy approaches of gender mainstreaming also illustrate the plurality of policy meanings. Gender mainstreaming as a policy approach was commonly recognised by international and local policy actors, however, the idea was interpreted in multiple ways. This study has demonstrated three interpretations, which were adding-on; cross-cutting; and micro and macro approaches. These plural interpretations indicate some similarities with, and differences from the gender mainstreaming typologies as discussed in Chapter 2. The adding-on approach believed that gender mainstreaming is operated under the bureaucratic system where a gender dimension is simply added into existing policies, for example, collecting a sex-disaggregated data to classify service users. This is similar to 'integration' (Jahan, 1995) and 'inclusion' (Squires, 2005). The second interpretation, gender mainstreaming as a cross-cutting approach, highlighted the need for multiple policy actors to engage in gender mainstreaming.

This cannot be fully equivalent to 'agenda-setting' (Jahan, 1999) or 'reversal' approach (Squires, 2005). This is because the finding emphasised the engagement of policy actors across different bureaucratic agencies only without recognition of women's voices, which is the heart of 'agenda setting' and 'reversal'. The last interpretation as the micro and macro approach, advocates that a gender perspective should be integrated into policy processes and social structures to tackle inherent and underlying of gender inequality. This understanding is in part connected with 'agenda setting' in Jahan's mainstreaming strategies (1995) or Squires' 'displacement' (2005) by sharing the similar perception of gender mainstreaming as a transformative approach. However, the finding does not reflect awareness of the diversity and the deliberative process of gender mainstreaming, as both typologies highlighted. The plurality of gender mainstreaming approach, held by different policy actors reflects the meaning-making aspect of policy translation, in which policy is layered by implicit meaning (Innes, 2002). The movement of gender mainstreaming initial transnationally travels with the "assumed" shared goal and approach into the Thai settings. However, when it has been moved into local context, this study has confirmed that the gender mainstreaming goals and approaches are contested and open to manifold interpretations in policy and practice.

In respect of the evolution of policy meaning, this study has illustrated that the meanings of the goal of gender mainstreaming, which is gender equality, were dynamic and continuously developed. The interpretation of gender equality has expanded from focusing on a male-female binary concept, to covering intersectionality, which gender inequality is intersected by class, economic, social status, sexual orientation and gender identity. This evolution indicates that the connotation of the aim of gender mainstreaming in the Thai context has developed and expanded through time to becoming aware of the complexity of the intersection of gender inequality, as suggested by postcolonial feminists (Mohanty, 1984, 2003; Narayan 1997; Schwarz and Ray, 2000). The findings also illustrate the dynamics of policy when it travels, so that it is always plural, changing, transforming both content, and the context of policy, from the formation to implementation process (Shore and Wright, 2011; Lendvai and Stubbs, 2007).

Policy meanings are also transformed when it is in motion as it was found from this study. The idea of the UN gender mainstreaming strategy is reinterpreted and transformed from the UN two-dimensional strategy, which is empowering women and conducting a gender responsive policy for all, to merely mainstreaming a gender perspective in the Thai bureaucratic institutions. This transformation impacted on Thailand's practice on gender mainstreaming in which the focus turned into integrating a perspective only within human resource management in government agencies, for example, by increasing the numbers of women in executive positions, and providing equal opportunities in training for female and male officials. The findings on the transformation of gender mainstreaming are consistent with the study of gender mainstreaming in Europe by Verloo (1997), which explains that all European countries have developed and implemented gender mainstreaming based on their own definition within their own boundaries. The transformation echoes Prince's (2010:173) argument that 'the moment of policy transfer is also a moment of policy formation and the translation of policy knowledge with these other knowledges will often produce something new'. This is because the destination countries of the policy journey are not passive as they select, recruit and translate policy into their contexts (Clarke et al., 2015).

The unsettling of policy meanings regarding plurality, evolution, and transformation during the journey of gender mainstreaming reflects three key issues of policy translation. The first issue is the illusion of the consensus of gender mainstreaming. As mentioned, both gender mainstreaming goals and approaches were superficially acknowledged as being in the same direction. However, the meaning of this policy and the way it is implemented is based on the diverse interpretations of the policy actors at national and implementation scales. This reflects a warning of policy translation to not assume "the consensus" of policy (Lendvai, 2015). The second issue is that the dilution of the meaning of the notion of gender mainstreaming impacts the implementation. As discussed, this study demonstrates the reduction and the transformation of the gender mainstreaming strategy as a bureaucratic product. Consequently, the Thai bureaucrats largely perceived gender mainstreaming as a bureaucratic exercise by simple adding gender issues to existing policies and practice. This perception reflecting what Verloo (2001:10) refers to as 'rhetorical entrapment'.

The rhetorical entrapment is clearly demonstrated in this study in which many bureaucrats recognise the definition of gender mainstreaming and promise to implement this notion. However, they do not have the 'know how' to integrate and apply a gender perspective into practice. In contrast, the 'transforming' perspective, which is the characteristic of gender mainstreaming (Rees, 2005; Parpart, 2014) and in line with the postcolonial perspective of gender mainstreaming, is less evidenced from this study. In particular, this was not found in the interpretation of the bureaucrats, who were expected by the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 to disseminate and facilitate the embedding of gender mainstreaming in Thai institutions in order to achieve gender equality. This evidence indicates that the notion of gender mainstreaming in Thai policy and practice has been weakened and disconnected when it travels across scales and space. The third issue is that the unsettling of meaning evidenced in this study highlights that the meaning of policy is constantly in motion. These findings support an indication that policies seldom 'become crytallised and solidified' when they travel (Clarke et al, 2015: 20). The findings further indicate that particular attention to the construction of multiple meanings and the interpretation of policy actors is vital to capture policy movement.

This study has further advanced an understanding of the unsettling of meanings of gender mainstreaming to the current debate, by revealing that the multiple meanings of gender mainstreaming involved with the conceptualisation process of policy actors. This process involved accessibility of policy actors to their source of understanding on gender mainstreaming. Policy documents are the first source used by the policy agents to gain their understanding of gender mainstreaming. In the UN documents, the notion of gender mainstreaming was most clearly articulated, particularly in the ECOSOC 1997/2. In contrast, the key policy documents on gender mainstreaming in Thailand provided only a vague definition and reinterpreted gender mainstreaming as "an internal and external strategy" tying within the Thai bureaucratic institutions. Without a shared explanation of gender mainstreaming in the key Thai policy documents, this creates uncertainty and leaves the Thai policy actors with little choice but to strive to develop individualised understanding of gender mainstreaming. Thus, the personal understanding of this concept becomes based on individual's background knowledge and experience, as well as their proficiency in English language. This

either facilitates an engagement with them or distances them from the UN documents. If the English proficiency was limited, this distanced policy actors from the UN documents, this then resulted in the Thai policy agents strived to rely on secondary sources which were produced through the conceptualisation of other actors such as the NWM official and academics. Cleary then, policy as translation involves a process of construction and conceptualisation as Clarke et al. (2015) argue. The process is unique and individualised depending upon the policy actors' background, experiences and their ability to access to different sources of understanding in various spatial settings.

The study also adds new indications and contributes to an identified gap in the literature, particularly in the Thai context, by demonstrating an interconnection between the construction of meaning of gender mainstreaming and the complexities of linguistic translation. As gender mainstreaming originates in Western institutions where English has been adopted as the universal medium of communication, this supremacy of English causes the complexity of integrating the "global" understanding of gender mainstreaming into the Thai settings where English is not the main communicative language. The linguistic translation from English into Thai illustrates points of conflict and contested values in which there are no agreed terminologies and the terms are translated inconsistently. These findings indicate the complexity when 'policies travel across languages, scales and spaces' (Lendvai, 2015:144). The problem of the linguistic translation of gender mainstreaming from English into Thai language is associated with literature across other contexts such as in the European context (Verloo, 1997; Charlesworth, 2005; Guenther, 2008; Winslow, 2009), the African countries (Wendoh and Wallace, 2005), and Asia (Spivak, 1992) as discussed in Chapter 2. This issue raises the consensus indication on the hegemony of the production and distribution of knowledge on gender mainstreaming through the English language, where non-English speaking settings need to adjust themselves to find suitable terminologies to serve English terms. The hegemony of English reflects the problem of 'the epistemic violence' termed by Spivak (1988: 2), mentioned in Chapter 2. This study demonstrates that 'epistemic violence' occurring during the movement of gender mainstreaming, in particular during the process of the linguistic translation. Local languages are dominated by the ideology and concept of Western institutions through English as a medium. This problem suggests that awareness on

local differences and values, particularly the diversity of languages, is crucial when policy is transnationally moved across languages

Furthermore, the way in which linguistic translation is affected by the politics of translation, involving how policy actors exercise their power through linguistic translation, has also been revealed in this study. The politics of translation includes the way in which the policy actors enact their standpoints, seek cooperation, and use their authority to control the linguistic translation of gender mainstreaming and its related concept into Thai language. These findings reflect the argument that language is 'never innocent' (Freeman, 2009:434), and 'a place of struggle' (Hook 1989: 28), in which contains a political implication. The findings also indicate that policy is not merely about the meaning of language, but that it is involved with how language is utilised and its impacts.

To conclude, this chapter confirms that policy movement is not a process of replication in which policy is simply moved from one place and be embedded into another. The study also further highlights the false presumption of the universality of gender mainstreaming as criticised by postcolonial feminists. It has illustrated that only superficial elements of the "global" concept of gender mainstreaming can be transferred when it travels from international scale to Thailand. In turn, the substance of policy meaning and practice which are processed under negotiation, reinterpretation, reinvention, and power relations among policy actors along the policy journey illustrates non-transferability. The unsettling of policy meaning regarding pluralistic, evolution, and transformation demonstrates the complexity of policy in motion. Furthermore, the complication of how policy actors constructed and understood policy meanings indicates a non-straightforward process of policy movement, particularly when policy travels across scales, languages and sites, in which linguistic translation and the politics of translation are involved. The chapter highlights the need to understand policy as an unfinished process, advocated by policy translation, especially tracing policy meaning in a new setting is the key part to comprehend policy movement.

Chapter 7
Multiple Policy Actors, Power Dynamics, and the Movement of Gender Mainstreaming in Thailand

7.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe policy agents, across different institutional scales, who were involved in the travel of gender mainstreaming into Thai policy, and the roles they undertook during this policy in motion. Furthermore, the asymmetric power relations between policy actors are assessed to illustrate how this power relations play a part in the movement process. To begin with, this chapter identifies the key actors, their roles, and the power relations among them in the movement of gender mainstreaming into the national context. Then, the supporting actors who facilitated the travel of gender mainstreaming as well as the interactions between these supporting actors and the key policy agents are discussed. Furthermore, the policy actors who were marginalised and absented from the travel process are explained to illustrate whose voices were unheard and who was not represented in the gender mainstreaming movement. Afterward, the dynamic movement of policy actors across and within multiple scales over time is discussed. This chapter concludes with the key findings and a discussion of the significant findings from this chapter in comparison with the literature and the wider political and geographical contexts.

7.2 The key drivers in the movement of gender mainstreaming

This section outlines the key policy agents who were involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand. Their roles regarding policy transfer and policy translation as well as their power relations between agents are illustrated below.

7.2.1 Bureaucrats in the National Women's Machinery (NWM) and the Gender Focal Points (GFP): The main drivers

Even though the NWM was restructured over times as discussed in Chapter 3, the NWM remained the main policy level agency assigned by the Thai government to be responsible for the promotion and protection of women's rights, the empowerment of women and the promotion of gender equality, including gender mainstreaming as was

suggested by documentary analysis (RTG-1999; RTG-2004; RTG-2010). The NWM bureaucrats were a key mediator in introducing gender mainstreaming into Thailand by intermediating (1) between the international and the national scales and (2) between that national scale and across the Thai bureaucratic jurisdictions.

Regarding the mediation between the international and national scales, the documentary analysis and interview findings jointly suggested that the NWM bureaucrats had been involved since the establishment process of BDPA. Their involvement consisted of representing the Thai government in drafting of the BDPA, expressing Thailand's political will in supporting the BDPA process through Thailand's statements, and committing to the adoption of the BDPA into implementation. The statements below exemplify the mediation role of the NWM:

> The Thai Government will ensure that the Declaration and the Platform for Action from this conference will be implemented. (MTPM-1995)

> As a representative of the Thai government, I participated in the drafting process of the BDPA and had to think about how to bring this into implementation in our country. (NC-7)

In terms of intermediating across the Thai institutional settings, the NWM officials were the main catalyst in disseminating the idea of gender mainstreaming to other departments and ministries. This dissemination generally delivered through their training programmes and seminars, as illustrated by the documents and the interviewees:

> After the adoption of the BDPA […], the ONCWA have [provided] training programmes on Gender-based Analysis methodologies for key personnel of government agencies. (RTG-1999: 2)

> We [the OWF] have brought what we [Thailand] agreed at the international level to be implement by trying to build a knowledge and understanding [of gender issues], especially through training sessions. (GO-8)

These excerpts reflect the transfer role of the NWM in which they were involved in the formulation and the adoption of the BPDA at the international scale as well as disseminating the idea of gender mainstreaming to the Thai institutions.

Not only were the NWM officials engaged in policy transfer roles, but they were also involved in policy translation including linguistic translation and conceptualisation of policy meaning. The NWM officials were the main translators of international documents, including the BDPA, from English into Thai language, a step which enabled the idea of gender mainstreaming to be disseminated and communicated in the local context. Thailand's report to BDPA in 1999 illustrated this role, as shown here:

> ONCWA has been translating [the English version] of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action into the Thai language for publication and dissemination to government agencies, non-government organizations and concerned parties. (RTG-1999: 2)

Furthermore, the NWM bureaucrats, especially after the restructuring in 2002, played a key role in interpreting and shaping the meaning of gender mainstreaming and its related concept through a series of handbooks and guidelines, for example, the Handbook for Gender Analysis in 2004 (OWF-2004), the Handbook for Gender Mainstreaming in 2005 (OWF-2005), and the Handbook for CGEO in 2010 (OWF-2010b). The content of these handbooks was based on the interpretation of various sources such as the Thai policy documents, training documents from policy entrepreneurs, and English language documents, as NWM officials explained here:

> I was involved in the production of [a handbook for GFPs]. I designed by myself by finding information, for instance, best practices from other countries and previous Thai documents. (GO-1)

> When I produced a handbook or a guideline, I gathered information from previous handbooks, for example, the cabinet resolution and the circular letters and provided a concept of gender mainstreaming based on my understanding. (GO-8)

These quotes resonate with the findings in Section 6.6 in that policy actors hold diverse interpretations and acquire their understanding of gender mainstreaming from varied sources. In turn, this impacted on policy meaning as Thai documents were produced through the interpretations of the individual policy actors and the sources accessible to them.

In a similar way to the national scale, the bureaucrats at the implementation scale were the key policy agents in the movement of gender mainstreaming. The CGEOs and GFP staff at departments and ministries were assigned by the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 as the core implementers in promoting gender equality. Their responsibilities involved integrating a gender perspective into their organisations and into the policy processes (SoC-2001; RTG-2010). Their roles can be categorised as being based on aspects of the policy transfer and policy translation. In terms of their roles relating to policy transfer, these GFPs officials were simply expected to adopt and disseminate the notion of gender mainstreaming into organisations and establish the GFPs under the supervision of the CGEOs. This role was illustrated by the documentary analysis and the interview excerpts below:

> [The role of GFPs is to] formulate a master plan for the promotion of equality between women and men (OCSC-2002: 2)

> After the cabinet had its resolution, we set up the GFP in our organisation and established a committee. (GFP-22)

The quotes illustrate the GFPs' role in transferring gender mainstreaming by establishing structures such as committees and introducing the policies into their organisations.

Policy document analysis also showed that GFPs were expected to move beyond the policy transfer role by guaranteeing that gender mainstreaming was embedded into departments and ministries. For instance, the OCSC Circular Letter stipulated that the CGEO's role was to follow up, evaluate, and provide recommendations on human resource management as well as to monitor the implementation of GFPs (OCSC-2002); while the GFP officials' roles were to follow up and report on the implementation of the promotion of equality between women and men in their organisations (OCSC-2002). These written roles reflect intention in bringing gender mainstreaming into practice to be embedded into the new setting, one key aspect of policy translation. However, the GFPs faced challenges when carrying out the important role of embedding gender mainstreaming. These challenges are discussed in Chapter 8.

7.2.2 The OCSC: The influential policy actor during the formulation process

The Office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) is a central government unit under the Prime Minister's office, responsible for human resource management in the Thai public sector. The OCSC contributed to the movement of gender mainstreaming in two respects. The first was the establishment of Thailand's only official policy on gender mainstreaming. In this respect, the OCSC brought about the idea of gender mainstreaming in the BDPA into Thai policy by purposing the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001. This Cabinet Resolution specified the establishment of the CGEOs and the GFPs as an implementation unit for integrating a gender perspective into departments and ministries. With this Resolution, the OCSC was authorised to design the roles and qualifications of GFPs and CGEOs, and to shape policy meaning. Consequently, instead of the NWM (the ONCWA at that time) which was the main agency on women's and gender equality issues, the OCSC played a substantial role in policy translation by reinventing and shaping the notion of gender mainstreaming in

the Thai context through its Circular Letter No. 0708/ว3, Dated 11/04/2002 on the Qualifications of CGEOs and GFPs.

This involvement of the OCSC shaped the new meaning of the UN gender mainstreaming strategy in the Thai context as being 'a bureaucratic exercise' as discussed in Section 6.4 and 6.5. The interview findings suggested that before the involvement of the OCSC, the idea of gender mainstreaming covered specific interventions for women and integrating a gender perspective into the policy process, which was associated with the notion of the gender mainstreaming in the UN strategy. An interviewee who worked in the NWM from 1994 to 2008 explained that:

> The main strategy [of gender mainstreaming] at that time [1995 – 2001] combined women's empowerment with trying to establish an understanding of society towards women's rights and the idea of gender sensitive policies. (NLA-17)

After the Cabinet Resolution and the OCSC's Circular Letter were issued, the perspectives of the NWM and the GFP bureaucrats were largely framed by the notion of gender mainstreaming as an "internal and external" bureaucratic strategy, as discussed in Section 6.4. This evidence illustrates the influence of the OCSC in reconstructing the meaning of the gender mainstreaming strategy in the Thai institutions. The finding further reflects an interpretative process of policy translation in which policy movement is based on the perceptions of policy actors (Mukhtarov, 2014; Clarke at el., 2015)

Furthermore, the image of the OCSC affected the mentality of the policy actors regarding the understanding of concept of gender mainstreaming. As mentioned, the OCSC is the governmental central unit which holds the core mandate on human resource administration, this shapes policy actors' mentality, especially that of the GFPs, so that they perceive gender mainstreaming as being another feature of human resource management. The interviewees stated:

> Once the Circular Letter was issued by the OCSC, this [gender mainstreaming] was turned into another human resource management issue. (GO-2)

> The Cabinet Resolution required us to report back to the OCSC. Then, the issue that we needed to address and had to report were about establishing a fair promotion for male and female officials. (GFP-26)

The statement above illustrates that an implicit meaning regarding the main mandate of the OCSC affected the GFPs bureaucrats' perception and their practice in gender mainstreaming. This finding provided an explanation for that in Section 6.4, why gender mainstreaming in practice was mostly perverted into promoting a gender perspective in personnel practices, for example, upholding equal opportunities between female and male civil servants for job promotion and attending professional development trainings

The role of the OCSC declined in 2002 as a result of the retirement of a high-level executive, who had been actively involved in establishing the gender mainstreaming policy and shaping this policy's meaning. Nevertheless, the notion of the mainstreaming of gender perspectives as an "internal and external" bureaucratic strategy, produced by the OCSC, remained robust in the Thai institution. This robustness was illustrated by the number of official handbooks and training documents which were later produced by the NWM. Examples of these documents included the Handbook on the Promotion of Equality between Women and Men in Government Sectors in 2003 (OSCS-OWF-2003) and the Handbook for Gender Mainstreaming in 2005 (OWF-2005), which retained its focus on particularly on "the internal strategy" of gender mainstreaming.

Furthermore, the perspective that gender mainstreaming was simply another feature of human resource management remained prevalent in the bureaucrats' perceptions, especially that of the GFP officials. This perception prevailed despite the fact that the NWM (OWF and was later DWF) had attempted to introduce gender mainstreaming

tools to expand the implementation by the GFPs to "outside organisation", for example, by training GFP officials to apply gender responsive budgeting to their routine work to impact stakeholders. One reason for the prevalence of the practice of gender mainstreaming as human resource management was that mainstreaming within an organisation was "an easy thing to do" as a GFP disclosed:

> We did only basic things, not to increase our burden, so bringing a gender issue within our organisation was the easiest thing to implement, for instance, collecting sex-disaggregated data of our civil servants, or arranging the working environment such as establishing a breast-feeding room for female staff, to merely show that we had implemented gender mainstreaming. (GFP-22)

The involvement of the OCSC illustrates that policy actors are not fixed as new actors and institutions become involved in the policy cycle (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2012). Regarding the impact of the OSCSC in shaping the meaning and the implementation of gender mainstreaming, this mirrors the idea of policy translation in which policy is constructed and reinvented by policy actors (Freeman, 2009; Clarke et al., 2015).

Even so, although the OCSC was not directly responsible for all women's and gender issues, this organisation had played a critical role in the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand. One reason for the involvement of the OCSC was the interest of a high-level female executive, which will be discussed in detail in the next section.

7.2.3 Gender mainstreaming as female bureaucrats' "burden"

Interestingly, the interview findings suggested that the significant policy agents in the movement of gender mainstreaming were mostly female bureaucrats in the NWM, the OCSC and the GFPs. At the national scale, two female executives, who were greatly acknowledged by interviewees, were the main driving force in primarily introducing gender mainstreaming into the Thai context. The first of these women was a NWM executive. This executive played the leading role in transferring the idea of BPDA on

the NWM institutional arrangement into Thailand by upgrading the NWM status from a unit to a division as discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.2. Most of the interviewees especially those who had worked in the NWM since its establishment expressed their gratitude to this female executive for advocating for the establishment of the NWM as one of them mentioned:

> I really appreciate [name]. She stood up and fought for the establishment of the ONCWA; otherwise we wouldn't have any official mechanism on women's and gender equality issues. (GO-13)

The second high-ranking female bureaucrat was in the OCSC. This executive initiated the transfer of gender mainstreaming by establishing the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001. This official also steered the translation of this policy by designing and shaping the meaning of gender mainstreaming during the policy formation process through the production of the OCSC Circular Letter. These contributions were also acknowledged and admired by the majority of the respondents. A NWM official expressed that:

> …because of [name], she was very active and extremely efficient. Under her leading, she proposed to the cabinet to approve this resolution [the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001]. (GO-1)

The findings reflect the fact that the female high-level executives played a crucial role in the original transfer of gender mainstreaming through institutional arrangements and policy formulation. Furthermore, they were also involved with shaping the meaning and the direction of the implementation of gender mainstreaming through the production of policy documents.

In the implementation scale, a gender task was automatically designated to female staff in the GFPs as evidenced from the fact that all interviewed GFP staff were women. Furthermore, the GFP name list documents in various periods showed that

approximately 90 percent of GFP officials were female. This evidence would suggest that gender mainstreaming was preserved only for female staff as GFP officials explained here:

> We thought that only women were qualified to be CGEOs and GFPs. CGEOs were only assigned to female Deputy-Generals. When we did not have a female Deputy-General, we designated other female officials who were in a lower executive rank to oversee the GFP. (GFP-22)

> Gender mainstreaming is always designated to female staff. Executives perceived that this task is a women's issue. (GFP-24)

The task of gender mainstreaming was engaged by and designated to female officials, was associated with patriarchy in Thai institutions. The interview findings indicated that the persistence of patriarchy in the bureaucratic system was an underlying reason for the active engagement of leading female high-level officials. Their direct experiences of gender discrimination had shaped their personal interest in gender issues and political will to establish gender equality in Thailand. These executives determined to introduce "international" gender mainstreaming into the Thai policy arena because gender mainstreaming was perceived as a suitable method to deal with gender inequality, as a national committee revealed:

> When I started to work in the bureaucratic sector, I felt that female and male [government officials] were treated differently. Men were recognised and promoted rapidly. They were designated to work in many important projects. At first, I did not understand why these things happened. But after considering, I found that being female was the main reason why I was ignored when I expressed my opinions or volunteered to work in an important project. […] Dirty jokes were always a fun topic of male government officials'

> conversations. […] I felt uncomfortable and disgraced, though it was not about me. I did not find their jokes hilarious. […] This was why I have been interested in women's rights and gender issues. […] I pushed myself to be among other women's rights advocators and worked with them. (NC-18)

Furthermore, the gender mainstreaming task was misinterpreted and stereotyped as solely "a women's issue", for which only women should take responsibility. Consequently, this task was preserved only for female bureaucrats. This misconception interconnected with the findings in Section 6.3.1 that GFPs largely interpreted gender equality, the goal of gender mainstreaming, as "quantity equality" which focus only on uplifting women's rights and representations to be the same as men's. The perpetuation of the view that gender mainstreaming is solely a 'women's issue' could explain why only female bureaucrats were designated as the main policy actors, while the male bureaucrats ignored, or distanced themselves from, or were excluded from the movement of gender mainstreaming in the Thai setting.

7.2.4 The variation of power relations among the key bureaucrats

The power relations among these key bureaucrats, the NWM and the OCSC in the national scale as well as the GFPs in the implementation scale of the movement process, were variance. The power dynamic among them began with a vertical power relation and was later reassigned to become a horizontal power relation. After the adoption of the BDPA, the ONCWA (the NWM during such period) hold a vertical power relation in directing and controlling other departments and ministries. The authority of the ONCWA can be explained by two factors. This first factor was that the status of the ONCWA was under the Prime Minister's Office, in which the ONCWA worked closely with the policy directive body of the country, for example, the Prime Minister and the Minister to the Prime Minister's Office. This status granted them an authority to "command" policy agents in other ministries and departments to work following the ONCWA's agenda through the Prime Minister's Office's orders, as an interviewee explains that:

> Under the Prime Minister's Office, we [the ONCWA] had a power to direct other ministries to implement according to us. They were willing to do so as this came from the Prime Minister's Office. We could also propose policies and plans to the Cabinet and the Prime Minister straightforwardly. (NC-7)

The second factor was that the ONWCA was equipped with high vertical authority in working on women's and gender equality issues. This high power was evident from the appointment of the first and only inspector on women's and children affairs at that time. This inspector held a consultative status to the Minister to the Prime Minister's Offcie and was authorised to monitor and direct all ministries and departments on women's and gender issues as reflected by an interviewee' narrative below:

> At that time [the ONCWA period], there was an appointment of an inspector, which was a high executive rank. This inspector had power to supervise women's issues throughout the country and holds consultative status to the Minister. This was a golden period for working on women's issues. (IDO-14)

The authority of this special inspector reflects their supremacy over scales and jurisdictions. The power of the inspector was not limited only to within the NWM. Instead, the inspector was entitled to direct and control the implementation of gender mainstreaming in all ministries and departments.

Regarding the power of the OCSC, and as discussed in Section 7.2.2, the OCSC was the key policy agent acquiring authority in framing the notion of gender mainstreaming and shaping the roles and responsibilities of the GFPs during the formation of the national gender mainstreaming policy. Departments and ministries obligated to annually report their implementation of gender equality to the OCSC. Furthermore, similar to the ONCWA, the OCSC gained its directive status over jurisdictions because it was under the supervision of the Prime Minister's Office and

its core responsibility was overseeing human resource management for the entire Thai civil service sector. As a result, the OCSC gained power in the country's administration and the development of the civil service workforce. This authority influenced the GFPs by imposing them to implement gender mainstreaming to be in compliance with the OCSC's framework on gender mainstreaming. This idea was illustrated by the following respondents' statements:

> The OCSC holds commanding power to other ministries and departments because the OCSC is under the Prime Minister's Office. Other agencies recognised this power of the OCSC. (GO-6)

> The OCSC has two statuses: a central policy agency status and a departmental level status. As the central policy organisation on human resource management, OCSC has a power over other departments. (GFP-22)

These findings illustrate that the NWM (the ONCWA at that time) and the OCSC held a high directive power under the Prime Minister's Office in commanding ministries and departments to implement gender mainstreaming into their settings and controlling this process.

Nevertheless, the restructuring of the NWM in 2002, as mentioned in Chapter 3 (the relocation of the NWM from the ONCWA, under the Prime Minister's Office to the OWF, under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security), transformed the power dynamics between the NWM and other agencies from vertical to horizontal relations. The new status of the NWM (the OWF and later the DWF) was as a departmental level under a ministry. This status caused the NWM to be positioned at the same authority level as other departments in other ministries. Consequently, gender mainstreaming was moved into other departments and ministries in the form of "asking for cooperation" instead of "commanding and controlling" as the previous NWM (the ONCWA) did. This horizontal power relation obstructed the

implementation of mainstreaming a gender perspective into the implementation scale, as a respondent explained below:

> The OWF is only just a department. They do not have any power to enforce us [other ministries/departments]. So, we work on their work [gender mainstreaming] only when we have time to do; it is not our main mandate. (GFP-22)

Due to being a newly established agency with limited authority, during the starting phase of the OWF (from 2002 to approximately 2008), the OWF relied largely on the OCSC's power in engaging the GFPs into the movement of gender mainstreaming. For example, the OWF organised training sessions under the name of the OCSC to gain numbers of participants. A NWM official revealed:

> We [OWF] attached to the OCSC for a long period. In all training sessions for GFPs we organised, we organised under the name of the OCSC together with the OWF. Though the OCSC did nothing in those training sessions, we needed their name and authority to impose GFPs. (GO- 6)

The change of the power relation track from vertical directive power to horizontal cooperative power between the NWM and other ministries and departments diminishes the power of the NWM and affects the GFPs' implementation of gender mainstreaming. Under the horizontal power relation, the OWF/DWF lacks authority ("carrots or sticks" and does not "have teeth") to influence and monitor the implementation of gender mainstreaming within other departments. This finding is associated with the criticism of the CEDAW committee (2006) on that the restructuring of the NWM reduced the authority of the NWM in carrying out its gender mainstreaming and coordination efforts across all sectors, as discussed in Chapter 3

This section has outlined and discussed the key policy agents in gender mainstreaming and their power relations. The next section will consider the supporting policy agents.

7.3 The supporting policy agents and their power

This section begins by identifying the supporting policy actors, who assisted the Thai government in introducing the notion of gender mainstreaming into the Thai institutional settings. Following their identification, this section demonstrates the power dynamics between these supporting actors and the key policy actors, particularly the NWM to explain the asymmetric power between them.

7.3.1 Academics and policy entrepreneurs and their influence in shaping policy meaning

Academics had involved in policy translation as mediators in shaping the notion of gender mainstreaming for the NWM and GFP officials into implementation. According to the interviews, their contribution can be chronologically categorised into two main periods. During the starting period of the movement of gender mainstreaming (1995-2002), academics material their influence in the form of national and sub-national committees because the NWM (the ONWCA during that period) ran their work through committees based on thematic issues, for example, education, law, health, economy and violence against women (NC-7; GO1; GO-13; IDO-14). The main engagement of academics during this period was interpreting the idea of gender mainstreaming into thematic areas. For example, in education, academics suggested to conduct a study on gender stereotypes in school' curricula (GO-8), and in gender statistics development, academic provided a guidance to and worked with the NWM officials in establishing a database center on women's issues for the study of the gender gap in Thailand (NGO-11). The interview data also suggested a close working relationship between academics and the bureaucrats, as explained by a NWM bureaucrat here:

> The working environment at that time was active; we worked together side by side with academics who were the chairs of the sub-committee or committees on a thematic issue. We [the ONCWA] served as a secretariat. The meeting was conducted regularly every two weeks. (GO-8)

However, the role of the academics in the thematic sub-committees had both positive and negative effects on the capacity of the NWM staff. On the one hand, many NWM staff enjoyed the benefits of working under the guidance of the academics as they could gain knowledge on gender issues. One government official revealed that:

> I had learned a lot when working closely with academics, for instance, understanding how to bring a gender issue into the education field. This has been providing me with foundation knowledge of gender issues to be able to work in this field. (GO-8)

On the other hand, some interviewees suggested that the influence of the academics in the committee and sub-committees, negatively impacted on the capacity of the NWM staff. They perceived that the NWM staff could not work independently and were relegated to administrative tasks rather than technical work such as initiating a programme or project on gender mainstreaming. One NGO worker explained this perspective:

> Not all staff learned technical knowledge from the academics. Many [NWM] staff just did administrative work […] They only did a paperwork, for example, issuing invitation letters and compiling of meeting documents. (NGO-11)

However, the close working relationship between academics and the NWM government officials eventually declined because all committees and sub-committees were terminated according to the restructuring of the NWM. Consequently, the relation between academics and the NWM altered into a form of policy entrepreneur after 2002. This form was illustrated by the academics involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming due to their expertise receiving payments for influencing the NWM and GFPs bureaucrats on gender mainstreaming. These policy entrepreneurs assisted the NWM to disseminate the notion of gender mainstreaming to the GFPs and other

Thai bureaucrats by being speakers or trainers in training programmes conducted by the NWM (the OWF during that period).

The dissemination of the notion of gender mainstreaming by the policy entrepreneurs is fundamentally based on their interpretations and standpoints. The document and interview data showed that policy entrepreneurs hold various feminist standpoints, and that the standpoints identified during this period were predominantly influenced by liberal feminism and Marxist feminism. Regarding liberal feminism, this was illustrated by the content of the training handouts or presentations extensively highlighted the issues of legal equality and the increase of the number of women in politics and decision making, such in the Handbook on the Promotion of Equality between Women and Men in Government Sectors (OCSC-OWF-2003). As regards the Marxist feminist perspective, this standpoint was clearly articulated by an interviewee, who was a policy entrepreneur at that time:

> My gender perspective is under the notion of feminisms…socialist feminist. Thus, my [interpretation of] gender refers to inequality and unbalanced gender power relation. (AC-19)

Under the Marxist feminist standpoint, the policy entrepreneurs highlighted unfair treatment of women because of the patriarchal structure. This unfair treatment referred to unequal distribution of resources, unequal payment, and the double responsibility of women, within which women were responsible for both paid jobs and unpaid jobs such as household responsibilities. The Marxist feminist standpoint was portrayed in many training documents. The Handbook for Gender Analysis in 2004, for example, suggested that gender analysis related to evaluating division of labour and time use between women and men (OWF-2004).

The policy entrepreneurs' feminist standpoints were associated with the NWM and GFPs officials' perspective on gender mainstreaming in two strands. The first strand was policy entrepreneurs' standpoints impacted on the GFPs' conceptualisation on gender mainstreaming and gender equality. As discussed in Section 6.3.1, GFP staff commonly interpreted gender equality as "same treatment". This interpretation

suggests a linkage to the liberal feminist standpoint, which emphasised the sameness of rights of women and men, for example, an equal right to education, suffrage, employment, and property as discussed in Chapter 2. This linkage could explain why the majority of the GFP officials' interpretation of gender equality was as "sameness" and tended to reduce this idea to "quantity equality". This interpretation further impacted on the GFPs' decision on the necessity of integrating a gender perspective into their organisations.

The second strand was the relationship between the policy entrepreneurs' standpoints and the bureaucrats' impression of feminism. Most interviewees, especially the NWM and the GFP officials who experienced the training during 2002 - 2008, showed a negative attitude towards feminism. These bureaucrats strongly believed that feminism was synonymous with "demanding women's rights" as they stated:

> Our office adopted the idea of feminism, then, gender is about demanding women's rights and protecting women's rights […] At the beginning, we walked following feminists, especially a quota system in political participation…this way is just demanding women's rights. (GO-5)

> Feminism is demanding women's rights, to get women to be equal to men in all dimensions…without thinking about women's needs or social norms. [Feminists] focus on women, what men get, women must equally get. (GFP-28)

The above statements demonstrate that the government officials held an uncooperative view of feminism and were unaware of differences in feminist approaches, which have diverse and contested approaches to tackling gender inequality. When the government officials, who were expected to be the facilitators in transferring and translating the idea of gender mainstreaming, had a negative perspective towards feminism, which is a part of the movement of gender mainstreaming, this caused a problem of the separation of feminism from the notion of gender mainstreaming in Thailand. This issue will be discussed in Section 8.6.4.3.

7.3.2 Donor countries and their indirect coercive control

Most donors involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand were from so-called "developed countries" from the Global North. These included Sweden through the Swedish International Cooperation Agency (SIDA), Canada through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Netherlands, and the UK. Documentary analysis and interview findings suggested that during the period 1995 - 2002, these donor countries supported the Thai policy agents, especially the NWM, to bring gender mainstreaming into practice through financial and technical supports. Regarding financial support, the aid which gradually came into the Thailand was associated with the movement of feminisms in the global arena since the First World Conference on Women. The increase of the financial support from the donors coincided with the establishment of the Thai NWM. The financial support from donors and partners in this period was generally in the form of bilateral cooperation for a large programme focusing on specific interventions for women, which is one dimension of the UN gender mainstreaming strategy. For instance, CIDA, provided appropriately 200,000 GBP in support of developing women's vocational skills throughout the country between 1996-1997 (NC-7). Technical support from the donors, however, came in many different forms, for instance, the dissemination of the use of gender analysis and sex-disaggregated data to the Thai NWM bureaucrats (GO-1), and providing an expert to work with NWM officials (GO-13). Additionally, a series of training programmes for the NWM staff, especially during the ONCWA period was enabled by support from donors, for example, the British Council granted a short-term scholarship on gender training in the UK (IDO-14; NGO-11).

The power relations between donors and the nation jurisdiction illustrated indirect control. The donors had the power to persuade the Thai governments to introduce and implement gender mainstreaming into their context. This process was influenced by bilateral agreements which specified financial and technical supports for a programme or project. A government official (GO-8) revealed that the report form of a donor's supported project contained elements of gender analysis and sex-disaggregated data. It implied that the NWM had to conduct a gender analysis and provide sex-disaggregated data to meet the requirements of the donors. Furthermore, as mentioned, donor countries offered technical support by providing their advisors to work with the

NWM bureaucrats. This circumstance demonstrates the influence of the donors on transfer of the idea of gender mainstreaming into the Thai institutions as a part of conditional support. The findings are supported by Evans (2004: 3) who highlighted how governments in developing countries are often compelled by influential donor countries to introduce policy change to secure financial support. This finding illustrates the power of the Global North over the Global South through indirect coercion of the implementation of gender mainstreaming. In this study, it clearly demonstrates that finance was the source of power in controlling the dissemination of gender mainstreaming and shaping the direction of its implementation in the Thai setting.

7.3.3 International organisations and their non-directive authority

The international organisations involved in supporting the NWM in integrating a gender perspective into practice were mainly UN agencies whose work related to development, women's rights, and gender equality issues. These included UNESCO, The World Bank, UNDP, UNIFEM, and UN Women. Their supporting roles were similar to those of the donor countries in that they provided financial and technical support. Financial support tended to focus on projects concerning building NWM staff capacity enabling them to disseminate and integrate a gender perspective into their routine work. For instance, UNESCO granted a budget to support the NWM in conducting the first meeting to disseminate the idea of gender mainstreaming to other ministries and departments in 1996 (NC-7). The World Bank also supported the NWM by providing approximately 136,000 GBP for a project to improve the capacity of the NWM staff to incorporate a gender perspective into policy formulation in 1999 (RTG-2004).

However, direct financial support to the NWM declined after 2002. Although there was no clear evidence from the findings to account for this, one explanation could be the change in the status of Thailand from a recipient country to a partner country. Interview findings suggested that the NWM had shared the financial responsibility and work in partnership with international organisations. A NWM official (GO-10) revealed 'we got financial support from UN Women in organising programmes or projects, but we also provided our budget too'. Moreover, the Thai government had

also provided an annual budget to international agencies, for example, UN Women since 2008 (GO-8).

Regarding technical support from international organisation officers, especially at the regional and country office, there were occasionally panelists and speakers to disseminate the idea of gender issues in the GFP trainings or conferences organised by the NWM (IO-3; IO-16). Some of them held positions in an ad-hoc committee which was set up to provide technical advice on thematic issues, such as violence against women, based on the invitation of the NWM (IO-16; NC-7).

What is apparent from this research is the distinct power dynamics of the international agencies on the movement of gender mainstreaming into the Thai settings. International organisations gained control over the national jurisdiction in the transfer of gender mainstreaming due to the national obligations to the BDPA. However, findings demonstrated that these international institutions had little or no power to regulate the translation of gender mainstreaming and oversee it embedded into the Thai context. The international agencies apparently framed the idea of gender mainstreaming in other jurisdictions, including the Thai setting through their series of guidelines and documents including the ECOSOC AC 1997/2, Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview (OSAGI-2002) and the recent Guidance Note on Gender mainstreaming in Development Programming (UNWOMEN-2014). However, this study has shown how this control did not have a significant influence in shaping the meaning of the gender mainstreaming policy in the Thai context. The analysis of the national and implementation documents revealed that there was no reference to the ECOSOC AC 1997/2, which set the "global" foundation of gender mainstreaming in any of material examined. Similarly, the interview findings also suggested that the notion of gender mainstreaming transferred from the international scale was selective when it was applied to the Thai context, as illustrated below:

> Gender mainstreaming in Thailand is based on our national laws, for example, constitutions, cabinet resolutions. (GO-4)

> In Thailand, gender mainstreaming does not completely follow…is not defined based on the UN. We define it ourselves, so this can be in the same way as the UN or not. (GO-2)

The excerpts above illustrates that international agencies had less power to control the way in which Thailand shaped and interpreted the meaning of gender mainstreaming into its context.

As regards the implementation of gender mainstreaming, international agencies did not hold any directive authority to enforce the Thai government's accountability in translating gender mainstreaming into real action. One international agency officer admitted that:

> [Name of an international agency] doesn't have any power to hold other agencies accountable, so it is a voluntary effort. (IO-20)

The involvement of international agencies in the movement of gender mainstreaming also depended on the decision of the NWM. A respondent disclosed that an international agency tried to offer financial support to disseminate CEDAW and BPDA, but that a high-level official rejected the project (NGO-11). Additionally, networking and interpersonal relationships between international organisation staff and the NWM officials were a crucial factor for international agencies to get involve in Thailand's movement of gender mainstreaming. An international organisation officer revealed:

> If you know someone or used to work with someone in the NWM, this makes things a lot easier when we seek cooperation for a project with the government. (IO-3)

The statement above clarifies that the involvement of international agencies was subject to the judgment of the NWM bureaucrats.

These findings demonstrate that the supranational organisations could influence the transfer process by providing a concept of gender mainstreaming. Nevertheless, the translation process was based on how national policy actors selected, decided and applied the idea of gender mainstreaming into their national jurisdictions. The findings also reflect that although there is an assumption that international institutions and actors can control and command the direction of the policy, 'the implementation is still based on the 'client' state' (Stone, 2012: 491).

Nonetheless, to some extent, international organisations could have an impact on the movement of gender mainstreaming in the form of cooperation through financial assistance and technical support. This finding is exemplified in excerpts from the document analysis and the interviews below:

> [W]e have cooperated with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Thailand, in implementing Thailand's Gender Disaggregated Database and Information System Project, which studied, analysed and collected gender disaggregated data according to the indicators on the promotion of gender equality as specified in international agreements […] and other development indicators suitable to the Thailand's context. (RTG-2010:17)

> UN Women introduced the issue of gender responsive budgeting to us. We were interested in this issue and worked with them on it. (GO-10)

The power dynamic between the international institutions and Thailand also illustrates the non-linear process of policy as translation regarding scales. The study found that international organisations did not always directly approach the NWM, who were the key actors at the national scale, to be involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming. Instead, the international agencies occasionally directly contacted

other departments and ministries to drive gender mainstreaming as a GFP official disclosed here:

> [An international organisation name] organised an international conference on gender budgeting and invited us to co-host this project. […] No officials from the DWF involved in this project. This invitation created an attention to this issue in our organisation somehow. (GFP-27)

This narrative exemplifies that the NWM did not always play a catalyst role between international agencies and the GFPs in other departments and ministries. This finding demonstrates how power relations were not simply formatted in a linear state hierarchy of international-national-implementation scales.

Interestingly, not only were international organisations engaged in the movement of gender mainstreaming in Thailand, but the Thai government also contributed to the international process of gender mainstreaming. For example, the Thai government was involved in drafting the BDPA and setting the agenda for the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) sessions, an annual UN conference intended as a follow-up to implementation based on the BDPA. However, the engagement of Thailand in the international arena was dependent on the capacity of Thailand's representatives. Interviews indicated Thailand's uneven contributions in international conferences. From 1994 - 2008, Thailand's representatives were considered to have more active participation as illustrated by interviewees' statements:

> We were involved in the draft of the BDPA; we worked with other countries, international agencies, and NGOs to push forward our agenda into the draft. (NC-7)

> When I was the representative, I actively participated in the discussions in the agenda and in the agreed conclusions. (NLA-12)

In contrast, after 2008, the active engagement of Thai representatives declined as demonstrated by the following respondents' reflections:

> At present, we do not study the agenda [of the CSW] just focusing on ceremony more than the contents of the meetings. (NLA-12)

> The way we attended the meeting was just like to be there for approval, not for involvement in the discussions… I do not know about others, but this was what I experienced. (GO-13)

As such, national policy actors who played a part in the international arena are crucial to present Thailand's roles and agenda in international conferences. Their active participation could forefront Thailand's agenda and increase Thailand's power in negotiating at the international scale. Less active engagement of the Thai representatives was linked to the political will and the conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming of the NWM officials, which will be discussed in Chapter 8.

7. 4 Marginalised policy actors in the movement of gender mainstreaming

The previous two sections outlined the key and supporting policy agents involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming into and within the Thai policy process. This section indicates policy actors who were marginalised and illustrates whose voices were excluded from the process of the movement of gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, the reasons why these policy actors were left at the periphery are explained.

7.4.1 The national committee: The symbolic policy actor

Documentary analysis showed that the Thai government set up various national committees on women's affairs since 1996 to supervise the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women in Thailand, which were restructured and changed their name over time (RTG-1999; RTG-2004; RTG-2010). The present national committee, established in 2008, is the National Committee on Policy and

Strategy for the Improvement of the Status of Women (NCPSW). This committee is an inter-governmental body chaired by the Prime Minister or the designated Deputy Prime Minister. The committees are comprised of representatives from ministries, non-governmental organisations and academics, with the NWM serving as a secretariat to this national commission (RTG-2010).

In principle, the national committee authorised in supervising the direction of national policies, plans and measures on gender equality and the empowerment of women including gender mainstreaming of the Thai government. Surprisingly, interview findings suggested that the national committee was left out of the "real" participation in guiding the direction of gender mainstreaming. The national committee had played only "a symbolic role" and has not had any actual directive power. As a national assembly member and a national committee disclosed that:

> The NCPCWA has no role. This is something only for putting up a facade. […] There were many issues that should put into the consideration of the committee, but the OWF/DWF didn't do it. (NLA-12)

> Experts in the national committee have been less utilised. The national committee members, who have expertise and experience, are there, but the DWF does not utilise them. (NC-18)

The statements above also revealed the national committee's role was limited because of the work of the NWM (during the OWF and the DWF period) who served as the secretariat of the committee. This finding suggested a relation between the marginalisation of the role of the national committee and the NWM officials' technical knowledge and the administrative arrangements. The technical knowledge related to the content of the meeting agenda and the prioritisation of critical issues purposed by the NWM, as one NWM official revealed:

> The secretariat [of the national commission] is not competent enough. The agenda of the meeting was just to report on the implementation of their work to the commission. Actually, they should have proposed something that is a plan or a strategy… or something more useful than reporting what they had done. (GO-1)

Regarding the competence of administrative arrangement, this was illustrated by the frequency of the meetings. Many interviewees disclosed that the committee meeting was generally conducted only once or twice a year, though the Chair of the committee suggested they should have a monthly meeting (NLA-12; AC-9; GO-4; GO-6). These findings indicate that the national commission held a powerful status only in the written document, but in real practice, their involvement in gender mainstreaming was only symbolic and was marginalised by the NWM.

7.4.2 NGOs: The peripheral policy agents

NGOs were highlighted as policy actors in the BDPA. The BDPA acknowledges the roles of NGOs and urged the government to engage with NGOs as well as to support their inclusion in gender mainstreaming as shown below:

> The active support and participation of a broad and diverse range of other institutional actors should be encouraged, including […] non-governmental organizations, including women's organizations and feminist groups… (ECOSCO-1995: 120)

In contrast, the Thai official policy documents, the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 and the OCSC Circular Letter of 11/04/2002, did not acknowledge the roles of NGOs. These documents mainly emphasised the role of the public sector in mainstreaming a gender perspective, as discussed in Section 6.4.2.

In practice, there was an attempt to engage NGOs in the movement of gender mainstreaming. From the perspective of some national committees and the NWM

bureaucrats, NGOs were engaged through their appointments as national committee and sub-committee members, or as delegates to attend international conferences (GO-8; NC-7). However, interviews with NGO respondents revealed that the visibility in the gender mainstreaming movement only corresponded to representation without "genuine" participation as reflected by a NGO worker here:

> The participation [of NGOs], provided by the government is a fake participation… as a committee… we just have a name as a committee member, but we cannot raise our voices. This engagement does not provide any sort of real participation. (NGO-15)

The statement above illustrates a reason why the NGO could not engage in real participation, in that the NWM tended to less concern about the principle of the inclusion of different policy actors' voices. This participation was in contrast with the suggestion from the BDPA.

The invisibility of NGOs also resulted from the focus of NGOs. Women's NGOs tended to pay attention to in-depth specific thematic areas, for example, human trafficking, women's participation in decision making, or violence against women. Consequently, they focused less on mainstreaming a gender perspective into the policy process, as respondents explained:

> NGOs see the world in a narrow and specific way, for example, highlighting violence against women or an environment issue (GO-1).

> From my experience, I can say that there are no NGOs working directly on the gender mainstreaming issue. They focus only on a specific issue. (AC-9)

From the NGO's perspectives, they believed that gender mainstreaming could not have a tangible impact on women's lives and the establishment of gender equality. A NGO worker disclosed:

> When we work, we focus on the thematic issues based on the Beijing conference and emerging issues, for example, peace and security, the situation of women in the southern border province… this issue [gender mainstreaming] seems to be far distant from us, it is not directly affecting on our life. (NGO-15)

The excerpt above reflects the issue that gender mainstreaming was perceived as a distance concept from reality live experiences. This idea would associate with the introduction of gender mainstreaming as a bureaucratic product by the Thai government, as discussed in Chapter 6, in which did not reflect on women's organisations and live experience on gender inequalities.

Furthermore, limitations in staff capacity and financial issues mean that the NGOs were further removed from the movement of gender mainstreaming. These challenges were explained by interviewees below:

> We do not have assessors. We tended to work alone as an individual person. […] From my personal view, less people worked as NGO workers. People tend to work in the business sector to earn more money. (NGO-11)

> During the past years, finding for a financial support for NGOs has not been that easy. Thus, they must prioritise and select work concerning their main thematic issues. (AC-9)

These findings suggest that less visibility of NGOs during the movement of gender mainstreaming not only originated from the tokenism of the NWM, but also occurred because of the focus and limitations of the NGOs.

7.5 Absentees from the movement of gender mainstreaming

One aspect of understanding the power dynamics of policy actors is to investigate who are absented from the process and why. The absent policy agents found in this study included national and international actors, as discussed below.

7.5.1 Organisations with high masculine cultures and frontline workers: The invisible actors

Documentary analysis and interview findings indicated that organisations with high masculine cultures and frontline workers were absent from the movement of gender mainstreaming. According to the name list of CGEOs and GFPs updated in 2016, not all ministries and departments established GFPs in their agencies. Noticeably, the organisation which did not set up GFPs, for example, the Ministry of Defense and the Department of Provincial Administration under the Ministry of Interior, had a history of association with high masculine cultures. The work of these agencies was traditionally believed to be a "male arena", for instance, in areas such as the military and governance. Moreover, male officials occupied most of positions in such organisations. For instance, in the Department of Provincial Administration, there were only 3 females out of 153 individuals in primary level executive positions (OCSC, 2015). The absence from the involvement of gender mainstreaming from these male-dominated institutions illustrates their status quo in which the idea of gender mainstreaming could not permeate into their agencies. One explanation for this status quo could link to the finding that the majority of government officials perceived gender mainstreaming as "women's issues". Consequently, as "a women's issue", gender mainstreaming could not penetrate into these androcentric organisations. The absence of these agencies would also suggest the persistence of patriarchy in Thai institutions where women's rights and gender equality were ignored by these male dominated institutions.

Regional and provincial governmental officials, particularly frontline workers who interacted directly with service users, were also absented from the gender mainstreaming process. The documentary analysis indicated that these actors were completely absent from the policy documents; the Cabinet Resolution did not stipulate the establishment of gender mainstreaming mechanisms in regional and

provincial organsiations. However, the interview data suggested the NWM had attempted to include frontline workers at provincial scales in the gender mainstreaming process. The NWM officials disclosed that there was a plan to establish GFPs in provincial jurisdictions. However, when the NWM staff who came up with the idea were rotated, the plan was terminated (GO-2; GO-6). A respondent also revealed that there had been an effort to introduce gender mainstreaming, especially gender responsive budgeting, to frontline workers at sub-district administration. Subsequently, due to the disapproval of a high-level executive, this project was stopped (GO-5). These findings have illustrated that attempts to include the frontline policy actors were uneven and faced difficulties depending on the internal factors of the NWM including the induction of staff and the approval of executives. These factors were reasons why the NWM failed to include the frontline workers in the movement of gender mainstreaming.

Similarly, at implementation scale, the GFPs in departments and ministries, who were expected by the Cabinet Resolution to disseminate and integrate a gender perspective into their organisations, did not make any effort to disseminate the notion of gender mainstreaming to their regional and provincial staff. One GFP revealed that:

> We have not disseminated [the idea of gender mainstreaming] to our provincial offices. We don't have time to do that because this is not our main mandate (GFP-27)

The lack of attempt from the GFPs to involve their frontline officials shows a connection with the finding in Section 6.5 that the majority of bureaucrats, particularly GFPs simply perceived gender mainstreaming as only an "add-on" issue. The GFPs tended to simply implement gender mainstreaming by making a minimum effort and trying to maintain their status quo. This finding suggests a reason why the regional and provincial frontline officials were not engaged in the movement process of gender mainstreaming by the GFPs.

7.5.2 Regional organisation: ASEAN and their inept power

The documentary analysis showed that ASEAN had widely pledged to integrate gender perspectives into its setting as highlighted in written ASEAN's policy documentation. These were, for example, the Joint Statement of the ASEAN High-Level Meeting on Good Practices in CEDAW Reporting and Follow-up (ASEAN-2008), the Work Plans of the ASEAN Committee on Women (ACW) and the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) (ACW-2011; ACWC-2012).

Nevertheless, the interview data suggested that ASEAN did not have a significant role in the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand. Most of the interviewees who had an experience working with international and regional agencies revealed that the ASEAN documentation and commitments surrounding gender mainstreaming were meaningless and did not guarantee real action as a respondent criticised here:

> ASEAN has no teeth, the idea of gender mainstreaming has been discussed since the Beijing conference, but there is no significant action and it cannot enforce any states to act on this. (NC-7)

To some extent, some respondents reflected the view that ASEAN had made an attempt to integrate a gender perspective and had had some impact on its member states. However, this was less active:

> Somehow ASEAN has some impacts on its member states, but this is very slow as the core principle of ASEAN is a consensus. Mainstreaming a gender perspective might be possible in some thematic areas, like violence against women. (IO-16)

These findings indicate that regional organisations such as ASEAN did not have any significant impact of the introduction of gender mainstreaming in Thailand. This is in contrast with the EU literature that widely highlights the role of the EU in both

transferring gender mainstreaming and shaping the meaning and implementation of gender mainstreaming, as discussed in Chapter 2.

7.6 Multi-scalar movements of policy actors

Not only gender mainstreaming is moved, but the policy actors involved in this movement process also traveled across international, national, and implementation scales over time. The interview data indicated three significant forms of the movement of the policy actors: (1) within national scales, (2) between scales, and (3) across three scales (international, national, and implementation scales). The travel patterns of these policy actors are visualised in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1 Forms of the movement of the policy actors across scales

Source: Author's analysis

According to Figure 7.1, the first form, the most commonly found, was the movement of policy actors within the national scale from one agency to another. This relocation of the policy actors was connected with the restructuring of the NWM from the ONCWA under the Prime Minister's Office to the OWF under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security. This restructuring generated the travel of bureaucrats from three organisations: the ONCWA under the Prime Minister's Office;

the Department of Public Welfare under the Ministry of Labour and Welfare; and the Community Development Department under the Ministry of Interior to being repositioned in the OWF. The travel of the policy actors from these three agencies into the new NWM resulted in a clash of attitudes, beliefs, and working styles. This was because individual bureaucrats from various agencies had different skills, knowledges, and organisational cultures as the respondents expressed:

> The restructuring [of the NWM] was a disaster. […] The aim was to establish a policy agency, but they put staff from the implementation level, who were keen on vocational training and organising projects to work on national policy formulation. How could it [the NWM] be efficient? It was impossible. […] Staff from the implementation level did not have knowledge and skills for policy work. (NGO-11)

> We had to adjust ourselves not only to the new structure, but we had to deal with the attitudes of staff from different backgrounds, who had a strong belief that they were the best persons who understood women's issues. (GO-8)

Due to the clash of attitudes, beliefs, and working style among various actors, who had different backgrounds, in the new NWM, many NWM bureaucrats were driven to relocate themselves to other agencies. One interviewee revealed that:

> I decided to move to work in another agency because I could not stand working under incompatible staff's mindset on women's issues and unclear direction of the organisation. (IDO-16)

Furthermore, the movement of policy actors within the national scale illustrated a changing of policy actors' position from non-formal actors to formal actors. Interview findings showed that academics hold governmental positions in national commissions and national legislative assemblies, or become government representatives to join

international conferences. This movement appeared in a temporary or permanent form, or in parallel with their main careers.

Policy actors also travelled between scales, particularly between national and international scales, as showed in the second form in Figure 7.1. This form generated various exchanges of policy actors. For example, the NWM government officials moved to work in international or regional institutions. Some academics also relocated to work in the international scale such as an international committee on a human rights convention in a certain period. Additionally, international agency staff moved to play the role of national actors such as a national representative.

The last form was the movement of policy actors across international, national, and implementation scales. This form of movement was rarely found, with only one case emerging from the findings. This policy actor began their journey by working at the national scale and moved to work at the international scale. The end destination of the movement was in a non-government organisation at the implementation scale.

The travel of policy actors as outlined above profoundly affected the movement of gender mainstreaming. When policy actors moved, they transferred their knowledge and expertise on gender mainstreaming to their work in their new settings. This impacted the way they shaped their interpretations and understandings of gender mainstreaming and disseminated this concept to other policy actors. This idea was illustrated by the interviewees' narratives below:

> I used a basic understanding on gender issues when I worked as a focal point in my previous workplace to inform my current work. (IO-3)

> The experiences and skills I gained when I served as a secretary in [name of a NWM], I employed them when I worked in [name of a NWM] (GO-8)

Furthermore, the travel of policy agents involving gender mainstreaming illustrates that the NWM was the transit point of the movement of policy actors involved in gender mainstreaming in Thailand. This finding could suggest that the NWM had the potential to act as a hub in which to exchange knowledge and skills regarding gender mainstreaming. This was because various policy actors at different organisations and scales transited and worked in the NWM for a period of time. Nevertheless, the documentations of the NWM tended to be a problematic. Many interviewees, especially the NWM bureaucrats indicated that the documentations and archives of the NWM were unsystematic and that many documents were lost during the relocations of the NWM offices (GO-2; GO-6; GO-8; GO-13). This problem indicates a wasted opportunity for the NWM, which was designated by the Cabinet Resolution to be the central policy unit on gender issues, which could have accumulated and collated the knowledge and expertise of multiple policy actors on gender mainstreaming.

Additionally, the travel of policy actors demonstrated that the policy agents involved in gender mainstreaming were not fixed; they travelled across scales over time. The movement of policy actors illustrates that there was no clear boundary for the policy actors. They changed their positions during the movement of gender mainstreaming, for example, they could be a policy actor at the national scale in one period and moved to be international actors in another time. They also had various statuses in a certain period, for example, academics could also serve as representatives for the government. Furthermore, the status of the policy agents varied over time, they might act as state actors, such as the NWM officials and later change to becoming non-state actors such as NGOs' workers or international organisation officers.

From the movement of policy actors, this has illustrated that not only does gender mainstreaming travel across sites and scales, but that the policy actors involved in the gender mainstreaming process also relocate and shift. This fluidity reflects the idea of scales of policy translation, in which there is no distinction between international, national, and implementation boundaries. Instead, they are fluid and connected.

7.7 Conclusion and discussion

This chapter has defined multi-policy agents across international, national, and implementation scales who played leading and supporting roles in the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thai institutions, and has explained their roles in policy transfer and policy translation. The aim was to expand an understanding of how various policy actors take part in this process in order to fill the gap in the existing literature on gender mainstreaming, which has been largely focused only on bureaucratic actors at the national scale. Furthermore, this chapter has illustrated and analysed the power dynamics among policy actors in multi dimensions including the power relations between the Global North and the Global South and gender hierarchy, as highlighted by postcolonial feminism, as well as the interactions among policy actors, which together explain the complexity of policy as translation. The chapter has advanced the in-depth comprehension of the way in which power dynamics have impacted on policy in motion, formerly little studied, particularly in the Thai context.

The analysis explored in this chapter particularly in relation to Research Question 2 "Who have been involved in introducing gender mainstreaming in Thailand and what are their power dynamics?" The key findings reveal the following:

- Multiple actors at multi-scales have been involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming. The key policy actors were mainly female bureaucrats who were in central government agencies; in the NWM, the OCSC, and the GFPs. Furthermore, as supporting actors, academics, policy entrepreneurs, international organisations and donor countries added support to introduce and enhance the implementation of gender mainstreaming into Thailand. Moreover, some policy actors were less visible from the movement of gender mainstreaming, for example, NGOs. Some policy agents were excluded such as frontline workers, while some were absent, for instance, agencies with high masculine cultures and ASEAN.

- The interaction of various policy actors did not operate in a vacuum, but was shaped by the power dynamics. Power dynamics found from this study included the domination of the central bureaucratic agents, the variation of power relations among policy actors, gender discrimination, the hegemony

between the Global North and the Global South, the marginality and exclusion of some policy actors. These power relations impact on the ways in which policy actors are positioned and interacted. The power relations also shaped the way in which gender mainstreaming is transferred and translated into the Thai context. Moreover, policy actors were not fixed in the movement of gender mainstreaming, but they traveled across scales over time. These findings indicate the complexity of policy in motion which as a non-linear process.

The multiple policy agents who involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming reflect almost all categories of policy agents in policy transfer (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; Evans, 2004) as discussion in Chapter 2. However, political parties, one type of policy transfer agents, were less evident from this study. One reason for the invisibility of political parties would relate to the domination of bureaucratic actors. When bureaucratic system is in the dominant mode, other policy actors tend to be excluded from policy process (Marsh and Evans, 2012a). Another reason for this lack of visibility would relate to the uneven development of the democracy in Thailand. As discussed in Chapter 3, the military coups at times interrupted the trajectory of the progress of Thailand's democracy, including the development of political parties. These reasons would explain why political parties had a limited role in the movement of gender mainstreaming.

However, the multiple policy actors above did not mutually present nor were equally involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming. The national bureaucrats occupied the lead role in the process of policy transfer and policy translation into the Thai institutions. Regarding policy transfer, during the formation of the gender mainstreaming policy, the OCSC officials played a leading role in introducing the notion of UN gender mainstreaming into Thai policy by formulating the national policy on gender mainstreaming (the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001). The NWM bureaucrats, who were the national mediators of gender mainstreaming in Thailand, also played their part by disseminating the notion of gender mainstreaming into Thai institutional settings. Regarding policy translation, during policy formulation, the OCSC shaped the meaning of gender mainstreaming through issuing the OCSC

Circular Letter. This Circular letter further designed the roles and responsibilities of the CGEOs and GFPs to act as the key implementers of gender mainstreaming in departments and ministries. At the same time as the national mechanism for gender mainstreaming, the NWM was involved with the linguistic translation of the BDPA, as well as facilitating the implementation of gender mainstreaming, for example, producing guideline and providing training materials and sessions for GFPs to shape the direction of gender mainstreaming practice in the Thai institutions. At the implementation scale, the key actors were again bureaucrats who were assigned by their departments and ministries to take the role of CGEOs and GFPs in order to integrate a gender perspective into practice within their institutions. The finding that bureaucrats were the main driver in Thai gender mainstreaming resonates with previous studies (Bhongvej, 2009; Yamnin et al., 2010) as discussed in Chapter 3.

Nonetheless, this study has provided a new indication in the Thai context on the interconnection between gender discrimination and the involvement of policy actors. With the bureaucrats as the key policy actors in the movement of gender mainstreaming, it was female bureaucrats who played the prominent role in transferring and translating gender mainstreaming. At the national scale, the high-level female officials were at the forefront of agents in transferring gender mainstreaming by establishing Thailand's gender mainstreaming mechanisms and formulating Thailand's gender mainstreaming policy. One factor driving these female bureaucrats into taking the lead role was discrimination against them in the bureaucratic system, such as barriers to their career promotion. At the implementation scale, the GFP tasks were generally assigned to female juniors and middle-level bureaucrats because gender mainstreaming was perceived as women's issue. The findings reflect the problem that the gender mainstreaming is seen as a burden only female staff, in which corresponds with studies in other geographical contexts, for example, the study of Akpalu et al. (2000) in Malawi and Guenther (2008) in Eastern Germany. This evidence highlights the common extensive fallacy that gender mainstreaming is equated as a women's issue for which women alone are obligated to fight and thus explain why male bureaucrats were less involved in, and almost invisible from, the movement of gender mainstreaming. It shows that gender

discrimination has significantly shaped the way that decisions have been made as to who are engaged and included in the gender mainstreaming process.

In the current literature, particularly the Thai literature as discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, policy actors outside bureaucratic institutions have been largely neglected. This study has advanced knowledge regarding multiple and multi-scalar policy agents in the movement of gender mainstreaming by identifying and discussing the policy agents who supported this movement process. These policy agents include academics, policy entrepreneurs and transnational policy agents. Regarding academics and policy entrepreneurs, they were influencers in shaping the meaning of gender mainstreaming based on their standpoint and personal interpretations, especially as raised through the training sessions for the NWM and GFP bureaucrats. With regard to the transnational policy agents, including international organisations and donor countries, most were from Western institutions, such as UNESCO, UNIFEM, the World Bank, UN Women and from "developed countries", for example, Canada, Sweden, and the UK. The main involvement of these transnational actors related to providing financial and technical support to the Thai government, particularly to the NWM to enable them to disseminate and implement gender mainstreaming, by providing training, a consultant, or through granting a budget based on donors' specific target projects. However, the involvement of these supporting actors in Thailand's gender mainstreaming was based on the decision of the NWM in selecting and engaging them into the process.

Through the lens of postcolonial feminism and policy translation, this chapter has illustrated the power dynamics among policy actors of gender mainstreaming in motion to explain the complexity of 'a power-laden artefact' (Kingfisher, 2013:3), which has been articulated to a limited extent by the lens of policy transfer and partially discussed in existing debates. Six dimensions of power dynamics among policy actors emerge in this study, and are illustrated and discussed below:

The first dimension is the variation in the forms of power relations among the key bureaucratic actors over time. The NWM and the OCSC under the Prime Minister's Office exercised a superior power over the GFPs in departments and ministries. This superiority granted the NWM and the OCSC the ability to direct and control the GFPs

to integrating a gender perspective within their institutional settings. Nevertheless, due to the restructuring of the NWM, its authority over GFPs was transformed from vertical authority, which was a directive relationship, to that of a horizontal authority, which was, in contrast, seeking cooperation. This transformation impacted on the continuous translation of gender mainstreaming to be embedded into Thai institutions because the directive and monitoring power of the NMW over other jurisdictions became too limited. The findings indicate that the forms of power and authority among policy agents is not fixed, but is varied over time. The findings further demonstrate that the forms of power and authority relationships connect with the construction of organisational space. When this space is reformed, the interaction and relationships of policy actors is changed which affects the movement of policy.

The second dimension illustrates Thailand's state-centric gender mainstreaming in which the central bureaucrats in the NWM, OCSC, and GFPs dominated during the movement of gender mainstreaming. This domination reflects the Thai government's lack of sensitivity towards 'how policy works through multiple agents and settings' (Clarke et al., 2015: 26). The domination is illustrated by the central bureaucrats' exclusion and marginalisation of other policy actors from gender mainstreaming. Frontline workers, who were at the greatest distance from the core of the policy making process, were excluded and absent from the transfer of gender mainstreaming. That is, the dissemination of the concept of gender mainstreaming by the NWM and the OCSC was limited only to the GFPs in central departments and ministries who were also the central bureaucrats. Comparing the findings from this study in 2018 with the findings of Kusakabe in 2005, which found that the Thai national government paid less attention to street-level bureaucrats in gender mainstreaming, this indicates that the frontline workers have continually been excluded throughout the period. It has illustrated the rigorous nature of the domination of the central bureaucrats over time over the movement of gender mainstreaming. Leaving out the frontline workers, the policy agents with the closest contact with service users, from involvement of gender mainstreaming has surely undermined the potential for the embeddedness of gender mainstreaming into everyday practice in Thailand.

Moreover, the domination of the central bureaucrats triggered the marginalisation of policy actors, particularly of the non-governmental actors. Even though, NGOs workers appeared in the movement of gender mainstreaming, for example, serving as a national committee or attending meetings organised by the NWM, their "actual" participation was neglected. NGO workers could not have their voice heard during a meeting due to the domination of conversations by bureaucrats or academics. Interestingly, the marginalisation of policy actors could also occur with high status policy actors, for example, the National Committee on Policy and Strategy for Improvement of the Status on Women. In written documents, this national committee had a status in guiding practice on gender equality including gender mainstreaming. In practice, however, the committees hold only "symbolic roles" in which they were less utilised and could not much intervene in the work on gender mainstreaming due to the management of the NWM, who served as secretariat of this Committee. The marginalistion of policy agents from the movement of gender mainstreaming process added a new indication to the understanding of the dynamics of policy actors in the movement process. Previous literature, Yamnin et al. (2010), Saiyanitee (2014) for instance, place an emphasis only the bureaucrats as key policy agents with a limited explanation on policy actors who are left out of from the process. The new indication from this study shows the benefit of examining policy through the lens of postcolonial feminism regarding marginality, together with the perspective of policy translation regarding forms of interactions, power relations and practice between policy actors.

The third dimension of the power dynamics relates to the predominance of patriarchy in the Thai bureaucratic institutions. This prevalence has been illustrated by gender mainstreaming tasks mostly being undertaken by and designated to female bureaucrats both at national and implementation scales, as previously discussed. Moreover, departments and ministries with strong masculine cultures, for example the Ministry of Defense noticeably did not follow the Cabinet Resolution in establishing the gender mainstreaming mechanisms. These findings suggest that the notion of gender mainstreaming could not penetrate into strongly male dominated agencies. Moreover, the findings illustrate how the existing patriarchal norms in the Thai bureaucratic institutions deter an embedding process of gender mainstreaming. This reflects the idea of policy translation that the context surrounding a setting, including its ideology,

institution, power relations of policy agents should be unfolded in order to understand the power politics (Clarke et al., 2015). The findings regarding patriarchy in Thai institutions is also consistent with the warning of postcolonial feminists regarding being sensitised to the diversity in which socio-political and cultural aspects in different contexts is crucial to an understanding of gender inequality (Mishra, 2013).

Regarding the fourth power dynamics, this chapter has investigated the hegemony of the Global North policy agents, in form of international organisations, regional agencies, and donor countries, over the NWM as a governmental institution in the Global South. The power of these Western institutions impacting on the Thai government during the movement of gender mainstreaming was in indirect coercive control and partial control forms. The indirect coercive control is illustrated by the hegemony of donor countries over the NWM in disseminating the elements of gender mainstreaming and controlling practice of this concept through financial support. Various forms of indirect coercive control were demonstrated in this study. For example, some donor countries defined an element of gender mainstreaming instruments such as sex-aggregated data and gender analysis as a requirement which the NWM had to report on. Also, Western advisors were assigned to work with the NWM on the financial support projects. The findings echo the form of 'negotiated policy transfer' (Evans, 2009: 245) where a government is obligated to engage in policy transfer suggested by powerful countries or institutions as a trade-off for some forms of assistance, especially financial aids. The findings are also consistent with the study of Wendoh and Wallace (2005) in African countries, which indicated that gender mainstreaming is influenced by the donors as a condition for gaining financial support as discussed in Chapter 3. It is further clearly demonstrates that donors hold compelling power to introduce policy changes to the receiving countries because of their financial support (Standing, 2004; Evans, 2004). As such, this study indicates that the financial resource is the key source of the hegemonic power of Western/developed countries/the Global North in controlling policy development and implementation over non-Western/developing and less developed countries/ the Global South.

The partial control relationship has been demonstrated by the interaction between supranational organisations and the NWM. The international agencies were only able to influence the Thai government in policy transfer by disseminating this concept to Thailand. In contrast, it was clear from this research that these agencies did not hold a strong directive or enforcement power over the Thai jurisdiction regarding the translation of gender mainstreaming. The non-directive power over Thailand's policy translation is demonstrated by the findings that international agencies could not frame the notion and control the implementation by the Thai government of gender mainstreaming into the Thai institutional settings. This study shows no robust indication of the superiority of the Western international institutions over the Thai government as the Global South regarding embedding gender mainstreaming in the Thai context. One reason for this is that 'international organisations craft and promote policy agendas that are based on a floating institutional architecture' (Kennett and Lendvai, 2014: 8), without any directive power to control the translation of gender mainstreaming into other jurisdictions.

A lack of directive power of international organisations in influencing the Thai government on the implementation of gender mainstreaming is in contrast with other studies as discussed in Chapter 2, for example Foskey (2004) and Stone (2012). The literature suggested that the supremacy of international organisations, especially the World Bank in pressuring recipient governments to transfer and then controlling the implementation based on the international organisations' agenda. In turn, this research illustrates that the Thai government could collaborate with Western international agencies on implementing gender mainstreaming once their relationship is mutual, for example, via co-organisers or partners. This study, however, contends that the translation of gender mainstreaming in Thailand was based on the selection and decision of the NWM officials. Additionally, this research has further illustrated that the Thai government held power in determining the international agenda on gender mainstreaming at the international scale through their Thai representatives attending international conferences. However, the active involvement of the Thai representatives was uneven as a result of the varied capacity of Thai delegates in the international arena. This finding again shows that the power relation between policy agents is not fixed, but they are dynamic over time and space.

Power dynamics also relates to a non-linear scale interaction of policy actors. This means that the communication between policy actors is not in a simple vertical linear process from international-national-implementation scalar interactions. The NWM as the Thai national mechanism on gender mainstreaming did not always play an intermediary role between international organisations and other departments and ministries. Instead, international organisations occasionally had direct interaction with departments which were in the implementation scale of Thai gender mainstreaming. For example, an international organisation approached a department to cooperate in a project on gender budgeting without contacting the NWM. The non-linear interaction of policy actors illustrates the idea of jumping-scale (Peck, 2002; Allen and Cochrance, 2010) in which policy movement is not a unidirectional linear process. This finding suggests that considering scale as a level of analysis advocated by policy translation helps to explain the complexity of policy in motion, a factor which has received less attention in the current debates.

The last dimension shows the dynamics of the policy actors, which added a new suggestion in the studying of gender mainstreaming, particularly in Thailand. This study shows the inter-scalar connectivity in which policy actors had traveled within, between and across international, national, and implementation scales during the journey of gender mainstreaming. For instance, the restructuring of the NWM caused bureaucrats from other organisations to be moved to work in the NWM, or caused the NWM bureaucrats to be relocated to working in an international organisation. The finding also indicates the fluidity of policy actors in which they are not fixed in particular organisations or scales during the movement of gender mainstreaming. It further illustrates that the policy actors carried their values, beliefs, and practice on gender mainstreaming when they travelled to their new institutions, and that these might be compatible or might clash with the existing values and practice of gender mainstreaming in their new settings. This finding reflects a meaning-making process of policy translation (Clarke et al, 2015), in which the process contains the beliefs and values of policy actors (Yanow, 1996). Furthermore, the involvement of a new policy actor in gender mainstreaming has an influence on how the meanings of gender mainstreaming are shaped. For instance, even though the OCSC did not hold any

direct responsibility for gender mainstreaming, the OCSC was involved in the formation of the Thai gender mainstreaming by reinterpreting and transforming the UN gender mainstreaming strategy into integration of a gender perspective as a bureaucratic exercise. Moreover, the image of the OCSC as the central governmental human resource management agency impacted on GFP officials in emphasising the integration of a gender perspective in human resource management in their agencies. This finding echoes Verloo's suggestion (2001:41) that the involvement of new actors always shatters or challenges the assumed policy consensus, policy meaning and practices.

In essence, this chapter has illustrated that the movement of gender mainstreaming was occupied by the national bureaucratic actors in central government agencies in the NWM, the OCSC, and the GFPs. As a result, the involvement of other sectors outside the central bureaucratic structure, for instance, NGOs, and local street-level officers at distinct scales and spaces is less considered. The chapter indicates the limited awareness of the Thai government towards the contingency and the complexity of policy movement, which involves multiple and multi-scalar actors. This chapter also affirms that the interaction of policy agents in policy movement is complex and operated under asymmetry of power dynamics and gender hierarchies in a non-linear scalar form. The findings raise an attention shift from a simply focus on bureaucratic actors at the national scale to a closer study of the multiple and multi-scalar policy actors and their interaction which operated under the asymmetric power relations to acquire an in-depth understanding of gender mainstreaming in motion.

Chapter 8
Localisation of Gender Mainstreaming into and within the Thai Context

8.1 Introduction

To understand the movement process of gender mainstreaming into the Thai national and local contexts, this chapter explains the reasons behind the engagement of the Thai government in the movement of gender mainstreaming, highlighting certain aspects of policy transfer and policy translation. Various approaches adopted by the Thai key policy actors when introducing gender mainstreaming into national policy are also outlined and assessed. This chapter then demonstrates how the national bureaucrats locate the notion of gender mainstreaming into practice in Thai institutions. After that, challenges to embedding gender mainstreaming into Thai institutions are identified and discussed. The last section concludes by discussing the key findings and explains how they are interconnected and related to current debates and wider contexts.

8.2 Bi-directional reasons for localising gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming was moved, introduced, and constructed into the Thai policy context related to pressure from international norms and commitments on women's rights and gender equality. The development of these norms had influence into Thai policy, especially when the norms were official documented as legally-binding treaties such as CEDAW in 1979, and non-legally binding commitments, for example, BDPA in 1995. Both documentary analysis and interview data indicated the pace at which these conventions and commitments set an obligation for the Thai government to adopt and introduce gender mainstreaming into the Thai policy and practice, as illustrated from the narratives in different scales below:

> Gender equality is one of the crucial issues because Thailand acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in B.E. 2528 (PSMSOC-2016:2)

> After the Beijing Conference, we started to think about how to bring the issue of women's rights and gender equality into the Thai public service system. (NC-18)

> The Cabinet Resolution [of 31/07/2001] was decided because Thailand acceded to the optional protocol of CEDAW. Therefore, a mechanism to work on gender equality was needed to serve this obligation. (NGO-11)

The above statements illustrate that international policy norms and obligation have an influence on the decisions of the bureaucrats when engaging in the transfer of gender mainstreaming into the country. This finding reflects the ways in which international communities use conferences and documentations to influence policy transfer by spreading norms and establishing an international policy culture (Bennett 1991; Stone, 2010).

Furthermore, the reason for adopting gender mainstreaming by the Thai policy actors relates to Thailand's need to respond to their local socio-economic changes. These factors included the need to increase the country's productivity, the situation of discrimination against women, and social changes. Gender mainstreaming was perceived by the Thai government as a means to increase economic competitiveness. By perceiving women as a "human resource" of the labour market, gender mainstreaming was recognised as a method for maximising opportunities for women to compete in the market, as explained by a document and an interviewee below:

> Thailand is moving to compete in world economics. A change is inevitable, especially a surge in the number of male and female labours in an industrial sector […] As the country's human resource, women should be a target of development as well as actors for country development… women should have an equal opportunity to develop their potential… (OWF-2005: 7)

> Gender mainstreaming was required because women were driving forces of the country's economy and development. (GFP-26)

The perspective that gender mainstreaming was an approach to increase economic productivity illustrates the neoliberalist perspective of the Thai bureaucrats. In this way, it reflects the idea that gender mainstreaming was framed as smart investment in which spending on women is a means to enhance the economy growth and fight poverty (Parpart, 2009; Davids et al., 2014).

The situation of gender inequality in Thailand also drove the decision of policy agents to introduce gender mainstreaming. A majority of the respondents, particularly female high-level officials and academics, revealed that gender inequality was prominent in several forms. These were, for example, the restriction of women from certain positions such as Provincial Governors and Generals, violence against women, double responsibility, and the low number of women's political participation (GO,1; NC-7; AC-9; NLA-12; NC-18; AC-19). More importantly, as discussed in Section 7.2.3, leading high-level female officials highlighted how they had experienced unequal treatment in the workplace in terms of promotion and verbal sexual harassment. Therefore, gender mainstreaming was seen as an opportunity for these policy actors to establish gender equality in Thailand. A national committee (NC-18) also explained that international commitments such as CEDAW and the BDPA were used to justify the formulation of the gender mainstreaming policy in the Thai settings. This practice illustrates an interpretative process within which policy actors both evaluated, and then made the decision to transfer gender mainstreaming.

Associated with shifts in social structure, demographical changes were another driver of the Thai government's decision to adopt gender mainstreaming. Document data, for example, the Handbook for Gender Mainstreaming (OWF-2005: 7), indicated that the need in establishing gender mainstreaming in Thailand related to the life expectancy of the female population was higher than the male population.

The findings above illustrates reasons for the engagement in the movement of gender mainstreaming of the Thai government were bi-directional which were driven from international norms and Thailand's local's need. The next section will discuss the approaches adopted by the Thai government to move gender mainstreaming into their settings.

8.3 Localising gender mainstreaming into Thai national policy

Gender mainstreaming was introduced into the Thai national setting by formulating the national policy and establishing the national mechanisms through using a mixture of approaches. The approaches included adopting UN gender mainstreaming as an initial standard, drawing on an example from a specific country, and merging experience and practices from various countries.

The Thai government initially agreed to use the BDPA as a convention in implementing gender mainstreaming. This practice was demonstrated by Thailand's statement made by the Minister to the Prime Minister Office to commit in bringing BDPA in practice at the Fourth World Conference on Women 1999:

> I pledge here that the Thai Government will ensure that the Declaration and the Platform for Action from this conference will be implemented […] The draft Declaration and the Platform for Action which will be adopted by this Conference will offer us a basis for reducing inequalities between men and women and accelerating the advancement of women. (MTPM-1999)

This localising approach reflects 'the emulation' type of policy transfer in which a country adopts another policy as a standard (Rose, 1991; Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000). However, documentary analysis and interview data indicated that Thai government did not instantly and simply embrace this "accepted" global standard into their context. In contrast, they delayed formulating the official policy on gender mainstreaming (the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001) until 2001, six years from the adoption of the BDPA and four years after the UN had set out the conceptual

framework for gender mainstreaming in the ECOSOC 1997/2. The notion of gender mainstreaming became to be policy in Thailand, only once this notion was in conform with the Thailand's 1997 Constitution. This Constitution opened an opportunity for the establishment of the gender mainstreaming policy because the Constitution stipulates the state's obligation to promote gender equality. The influence of the 1997 Constitution was indicated by multiple documents, for example, the Handbook for the Promotion of Equality between Women and Men in Government Sectors (OCSC-OWF-2003) and the Handbook for CGEO (OWF-2010), and by many interviewees who were involved in the formulation of the gender mainstreaming policy (GO-1; GO-8; GO-13; NC-18; AC-9). This evidence illustrates that the official transfer process of gender mainstreaming into the Thai policy arena only started once the global standard conformed and aligned with national legislation.

Additionally, the formation of the gender mainstreaming policy did not only take ideas from the UN, but also learned from experiences of other countries. A good example was that the Thai government designed the implementation mechanisms for gender mainstreaming by using an example from the UK, as a national committee explained here:

> After coming back from Beijing, we discussed the establishment of a mechanism for gender mainstreaming. I suggested an idea I got during a study trip in the UK as the British government appointed a CFO [Chief Executive Financial Officer] to look after government financing. I also had experience in establishing a CIO [Chief Information Office] in another Thai public sector. Consequently, we decided to design the mechanism by having Chief Gender Equality Officer (CEGO) as the head of the gender focal point in each organisation. (NC-18)

Drawing upon experience from a particular country can be equivalent to 'the inspiration' type of policy transfer in which one jurisdiction inspires and develops a

policy by learning from other jurisdictions (Rose, 1991; Dolowitz and Mash, 1996; Evans and Davies, 1999).

The NWM bureaucrats additionally searched for examples and experiences of various countries when forming their gender mainstreaming practice. This approach was demonstrated by the way in which they designed and developed a guideline on gender budgeting for GFPs by using a mixture of policies, guidelines, and handbooks from the UN and other countries. One NWM official explained that:

> The development of this [gender responsive budgeting guidance] drew from examples from many countries and agencies. UN handbooks were used to provide an overview framework. I found the Philippines' practice was very interesting as they were the first country in ASEAN which implemented gender budgeting. Their advancement was a clear example to be applied as a framework. […] We were at the beginning stage, then, I did not apply all examples. (GO-1)

The above narrative illustrates the 'combination' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000) or 'hybridisation' (Evans, 2009) form of policy transfer. This form occurs when a government draws a combination of elements of policies and programmes from several settings and adapts these to establish their own policies (Rose: 1991).

The various approaches in locating gender mainstreaming into Thai policy and practice, discussed above, illustrate almost all types of policy transfer: 'emulation', 'inspiration', to 'hybridisation' (Rose, 1991; Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000; Evans, 2009). However, direct copying, which a country adopts a policy or programme from a setting without modification (Rose, 1991; Evans, 2009) was not evidenced in this research. One reason for this was that the notion of UN gender mainstreaming was not adopted through mimicking, but that the Thai policy actors selected and interpreted to embrace this idea in the Thai setting. The findings denote policy as translation in which Thailand is not a passive destination or 'a downloader' (Lendvai, 2015: 133), as a NWM official describes here:

> What the UN suggested, we have not applied all of it. We are not in the least developed country status. We selected and decided what suited us by ourselves to form our policy. (GO-1)

The statement above illustrates how gender mainstreaming was localised into the Thai policy through interpretation, evaluation, selection, and transformation by the policy actors who decided what to transfer, when to transfer, and how to transfer. This improvisation on the part of the policy agents again confirms that policy does not straightforwardly travel from one setting to another, but it was processed under various approaches to mould gender mainstreaming to be conformed with the new setting.

8.4 Localising gender mainstreaming policy into the implementation settings

The key national policy actors, the NWM and the OCSC, applied two approaches: vertical and horizontal approaches, to introduce the gender mainstreaming policy to the GFPs so that they could integrate a gender perspective into practice. The vertical approach included the use of top-down command from the national scale to the GFPs. In contrast, the horizontal approach involved the use of voluntary engagement from the implementation scale in adopting the concept of gender mainstreaming into their organisations. The details of these two approaches are discussed below.

8.4.1 Establishing gender mainstreaming through a vertical approach

The vertical approach to introducing the notion of gender mainstreaming can be differentiated into three methods: the use of directive policy documents, command and control, and universal pattern. The use of directive policy documents was demonstrated by the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001 and the Circular Letter of 11/04/2002 which commanded departments and ministries to establish the CGEOs and GFPs as mechanisms and defined their roles regarding integrate a gender perspective into their jurisdictions. The use of these policies also illustrates how the Thai government employed the policy documents to officially generate the transfer process of gender mainstreaming, starting with the establishment of gender mainstreaming

mechanisms. This evidence clearly supports the idea that the practices of government become official when policy documents are established (Smith, 1984; 1990; Freeman and Maybin, 2011)

As discussed in Section 6.5, gender mainstreaming was introduced as a bureaucratic exercise and instruments including collecting sex-disaggregated data, gender analysis and Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) to be integrated into a policy process of governmental institutions. Each ministry and department was required to show how they use these instruments by producing their own policy documents, namely Master Plan on Gender Equality Promotion indicating how each organisation implement gender mainstreaming. Additionally, the GFPs were also obligated to submit the plans and annually report on the implementation of gender mainstreaming to the OCSC and later to the NWM. The documentary analysis and interview data showed that these gender mainstreaming tools were implemented in a check box manner and that the GFPs' reports and policies were partially replicated from report templates designed by the NWM. The NWM and the GFP interviewees similarly revealed that:

> We [the NWM] provide an example, a form for master plans and reports pattern so that they [the GFPs] could follow. (GO-6)

> I produced the documents based on the forms or examples given by the OWF. This was convenient and saved me time, just to show that we did gender mainstreaming. (GFP-24)

The narratives above indicate how the command and control approach was applied. The OCSC and later the NWM designed and introduced the tools and the forms, while the GFPs had the responsibility of implementing and reporting back to the national agencies.

Furthermore, the NWM introduced the notion of gender mainstreaming to diverse implementation settings by using a universal method through identical guidelines and handbooks instructing to all GFPs. These were, for example, the Handbook for Gender Mainstreaming (OWF-2005) and the Document for Seminar on the Development of Machinery on Gender Equality Promotion in Civil Services (DWF-

2016) to shape how gender mainstreaming was implemented for GFPs in different departments and ministries. Furthermore, the content of the training sessions which all GFPs received was identical. The documentary analysis and interview data illustrated that the training session designs generally covered an overview of concepts of sex and gender, international commitments on women's rights, sex-disaggregated data, and gender analysis. This evidence demonstrates a lack of awareness of the diversity of GFP staff who had different levels of background knowledge on gender mainstreaming, which will be further discussed in Section 8.5.4. However, a few interviewees suggested that the NWM were occasionally sensitised to the diversity of GFPs by considering the main mandate of the departments where the GFPs were situated. A NWM official revealed that sometimes the NWM categorised the training sessions based on the department's or ministry's mandates such as social or economic issues (GO-4). Additionally, GFP officials were occasionally allocated to participate in the training sessions or group discussions based on their performance when implementing gender mainstreaming as classified by the NWM (GO-2; GO-6).

8.4.2 Localising gender mainstreaming through a horizontal approach

In addition to the vertical approach discussed in the previous section, the NWM occasionally engaged the implementation scale to implement gender mainstreaming by adopting a horizontal approach as complementary. The horizontal approach can be categorised into two methods. The first method was creating an annual award for an outstanding organisation on gender equality promotion. It showed that to some extent the use of the positive reinforcement by the NWM, was be able to drive the implementation of gender mainstreaming of the GFPs as the GFP respondents stated:

> Our department was an award hunter. Therefore, our executives were interested in this award [An outstanding organisation award on promoting gender equality]. (GFP-25)

> The award was interesting. Our executives also agreed. I, then, submitted the report to the OWF to be a candidate for an award. In the past, we did not submit the annual report. (GFP-27)

The use of bilateral agreements between the NWM and departments was another method adopted to enhance the implementation of gender mainstreaming. This method shows that the NWM attempted to build mutual relationships and voluntary engagement of policy actors in departments and ministries. A good example for this approach was the establishment of bilateral agreement between the NWM and the Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation (DPM). During the Tsunami in 2004, international and non-governmental agencies highlighted the failure of gender sensitisation of the assistance provision for the survivors, particularly women and girls. This situation forged a mutual interest between the NWM and the DPM in integrating a gender perspective into disaster management. Consequently, they signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on Integrating a Gender Perspective in Disaster Management in 2011. To date, there have been approximately three MOUs between the NWM and other departments on integrating a gender perspective into their organisations, for example, the MOU between the OWF and the Royal Thai Police Cadet, and the MOU between the OWF and the Metropolitan Waterworks Authority (RTG-2010; GO-1; GO-6). The findings reflect the indication of Allen and Cochrane (2010) that policy actors attempt to reach out to other jurisdictions to manipulate their agenda through seeking voluntary collaboration.

One main reason explaining the use of the horizontal approach is the change of NWM authority in which the NWM lost their directive status to departments and ministries due to the restructuring discussed in Section 7.2.4. The documentary analysis and interview data suggested that the NWM started to adopt the horizontal approach around 2008 after they failed to control the GFP's implementation, as one NWM bureaucrat revealed:

> We could not enforce the GFPs to implement gender mainstreaming because we have no power. We tried to engage them by granting an award and approaching some departments to sign a specific agreement. (GO-4)

The use of vertical and horizontal approaches in introducing the gender mainstreaming policy into Thai institutions reflects how national bureaucrats assumed

that gender mainstreaming was ‘an object’ which could be easily moved from the national setting to the GFPs. Consequently, these localisation approaches could not be functional to embed gender mainstreaming into the Thai institutions. This dysfunction of the localising approaches is discussed in the next section.

8.5 Dysfunction of the localising approaches

The approaches adopted by the national actors to introduce gender mainstreaming policy to the GFPs showed flaws in four key aspects. These were (1) the illusion of the power of policy documents, (2) mirage of policy and report writing, (3) lack of sustainability of practice, and (4) the failure to recognise the diversity of implementation contexts.

8.5.1 Illusion of the power of policy documents

The use of policy documents as a directive tool to transfer gender mainstreaming to GFPs revealed the different perceptions of the national and the implementation policy actors towards the power of the policy documents. From the perspective of the OCSC and the NMW officials, who were involved in the formation of the Cabinet Resolution, using this directive policy document was an effective way to enforce the implementation of gender mainstreaming into the Thai policy process as exemplified here:

> The Cabinet Resolution had coercive power. It defines the regulations of and the procedures for related agencies to implement. (NC-18)

> When something is decided by the cabinet, this resolution is extremely important and all public sectors need to follow it. (GO-6)

In contrast, the GFP officials perceived that the Cabinet Resolution was only a written document without any real enforcement as a GFP stated:

> Many cabinet resolutions were decided weekly. We could not manage to implement all resolutions. When the directly responsible agencies did not follow up, I did not see the point of implementing this cabinet resolution. (GFP-22)

The excerpts show the contradictory expectations and values regarding the power of policy documents as held by the national policy agents and the GFPs. The national actors overestimated the power of the policy documents by assuming that the use of the directive policies could automatically transfer the notion of gender mainstreaming and enforce the GFPs to implement this concept. The findings also reveal that the Cabinet Resolution could not have an impact on the implementation of the GFPs because of a lack of effective follow-up by the NWM on the practice based on this policy. This finding explained why the GFPs perceived the Cabinet Resolution as only a written paper without any enforcement status, and the policy could not enforce the implementation of GFPs when gender mainstreaming was moved into the new settings.

8.5.2 Mirage of policy documents and report writing

As discussed in Section 8.4.2, through a command and control method, the GFPs were required to submit periodic plans and reports regarding the implementation of gender mainstreaming to the OCSC and the NWM. The interview findings suggested that the GFPs plans and reports tended to be illusive and could not guarantee implementation of gender mainstreaming. Many GFPs officials revealed that their strategic plans for gender equality were formulated, but that implementation according to the plan, could not be ensured. One GFP official revealed that:

> Yes, we had a Master Plan [for promoting gender equality] as suggested by the DWF. We just drafted the plan and submitted to them to show that we integrated a gender perspective, but the implementation of the plan was something we thought about later. (GFP-22)

Another example, as disclosed by a GFP official, also showed that the plan for gender mainstreaming was a fiction, and only invented to fit the framework laid out by the NWM:

> The DWF had their own flagship and tried to frame us to write a plan to fit with their pattern. Some strategies that they designed did not match with our context. I just put some activities that I thought it might fit with their framework to formulate the plan, but these were impossible to implement. (GFP-23)

Some evidence also suggested a contradiction between the annual report and actual performance. One NWM official revealed that:

> I found one report very fascinating. The report showed that this department had sex-disaggregated data and training sessions for its staff on gender issue. However, when I checked with them, they admitted that they actually had done nothing. What they reported was just copying from a report example. (GO-6)

These narratives suggest that the written documents could be an illusion because the GFP policy actors had to fulfill requirements based on the command and control approach adopted by the NWM. The policy tended to be utilised as a strategy for showing the implementation of gender mainstreaming without any real action. This finding is associated with Lendvai's study (2015: 145) which noted that 'the policy texts and strategic topic policy framework are fiction'. The finding also reflects the performativity and practice aspect of policy translation, which advocates capturing how policy is 'doing' by moving beyond the interpretation and the implementation of the policy (Newman, 2013).

8.5.3 Disjuncture in practice

Even though, the NWM adopted a horizontal approach through granting awards and using bilateral agreements to engage voluntary cooperation of departments and ministries,

this approach tended to be only symbolic, and could not secure the sustainability of the implementation of gender mainstreaming. One GFP official disclosed that their organisation received the award because their executive commanded them to organise a project on gender mainstreaming. However, after receiving the award, the effort on the promotion of gender equality in the department declined (GFP-22).

The signed MOUs also did not guarantee practice on the ground as the NWM interviewees revealed that:

> We [the NWM] signed MOU with other departments to integrate a gender perspective. So what? Nothing happened. (GO-10)

> We [the NWM] worked with others…signed MOUs, but nothing occurred after that…. No continuity, it was like we tried to step forward to work with others and then we stepped back. (GO-1)

One main reason for a lack of sustainability of the implementation of gender mainstreaming connected with the dynamics of institutions as policy actors had moved and rotated. At the national scale, when the main staff who initiated the MOUs were rotated or got promoted, such MOUs were usually terminated (GO-1; GO-2). Similarly, the GFP officials also disclosed this lack of sustainability in practice:

> Once the executives who signed the MOU were rotated, the new executives did not continue the implementation of the MOU because the new executives did not sign it. (GFP-23)

These findings illustrate that when the policy actors changed, the power dynamics behind the policy actors changed, and then the implementation of gender mainstreaming was also altered. The changes in organisational space result in the disconnection between the commitments and the sustainability of practice of gender mainstreaming towards achieving gender equality.

8.5.4 Failure to recognise the diversity of implementation contexts

The use of universal design to disseminate gender mainstreaming of the NWM indicates that the national actors paid less attention to each implementation context in two aspects. The first aspect was less sensitivity to the complexity of thematic areas and diversity of GFP's institutional contexts. The interview findings suggested that the universal content of gender mainstreaming training by the NWM illustrated the assumption that all GFPs could use this general knowledge to integrate a gender perceptive into their thematic areas and institutional contexts, as one GFP official mentioned:

> The training provided just only a basic understanding of the general concept [of gender mainstreaming], but I have no idea how to apply to my organisation. (GFP-25)

This finding shares similarity with Hawthorne's indication that '[g]ender mainstreaming does not allow for context sensitivity, instead it goes for a one-size-fits-all approach' (2004: 120).

The second aspect was a lack of awareness of the diverse backgrounds and experience of the GFP officials as individual policy actors. The interview data indicated that the GFP officials had different working experience in GFPs ranging from 1 - 6 years, and that they had varied levels of understanding of gender issues. Their experience in attending the NMW training sessions was also diverse. The GFPs who had worked from 3 up to 6 years attended approximately 3 - 5 training sessions. However, the GFPs who had worked for less than three years participated in just 1 - 3 training sessions. The identical training sessions for all GFPs, without consideration of diversity, affected the way the GFPs participated and distanced them from the gender mainstreaming training. The following GFPs officials' statements illustrate this issue:

> I have attended many training sessions for many years. The contents in the training were the same, just only a basic understanding. So, during the past three years, I quit

> attending the training as nothing was new and useful for me. (GFP-30)

> I was a new GFP officer. I had no idea what they were discussing [during the training]. Therefore, I kept silent during the group discussion. (GFP-23)

Furthermore, less concern about the individual experiences of the GFP staff reduced the opportunity to secure the sustainability of the implementation of gender mainstreaming as one GFP official explains here:

> The DWF provided regular training sessions, but the content of the training remained the same. They suggested us that we nominate new staff to participate in their training. They were not concerned for those who were trained…who already had a basic knowledge. It was like they abandoned staff who had a basic understanding and had potential to go further. (GFP-25)

The findings above indicate that the universal training approach treated GFP as homogeneous. This practice failed to respond to the diversity of the individual GFP officials. Consistent with Cochrane (2011) and Theodore and Peck (2012) who advocate that policy cannot be delivered in a universally applicable pattern with out paying attention to the diversity of the institutional settings. The next section will discuss the challenges in localising gender mainstreaming into the Thai institutions.

8.6 Main challenges of the localisation of gender mainstreaming policy into the Thai institutional settings

In order to understand the challenges of moving the gender mainstreaming policy into practice, this section discusses the key barriers which prevented the embedding of gender mainstreaming into Thai context, in particular the implementation of gender mainstreaming. This is because implementation is a critical part of understanding the policy movement process, as highlighted by both policy transfer and policy translation scholars. For policy transfer, 'the proof of policy transfer lies in its implementation' (Evans, 2009: 246). For policy translation, examining policy performance offers an

understanding on “assumed consensus” of policies (Clarke et al., 2015). However, the performance of policy translation goes beyond the idea of implementation by focusing on how policies are “doing” by looking at how policies ‘are mediated and translated, refused, inhabited or reworked’ (Newman, 2013: 526). The barriers found in this study included inflexible policy documents, bureaucratic institutional arrangements, as well as a lack of political will and leadership of staff. Furthermore, root causes of these barriers, which are conceptualisation and patriarchy are explained how they hinder the embedding of gender mainstreaming in Thai society.

8.6.1 Inflexible policy documents and the evolving contexts

As discussed in Section 8.2, policy documents were a key enabler of the transfer process of gender mainstreaming. When an official policy document was created and adopted, these documents initiated the official transfer process, and then shaped and controlled the concept of gender mainstreaming. However, policy documents also hindered the implementation of gender mainstreaming, particularly when these documents were not designed to respond to the evolving context.

The Thai gender mainstreaming policy documents were not updated to reflect changes in institutional structures. The OCSC Circular Letter of 11/04/2002 stipulated that departments must report their progress on gender mainstreaming to the OCSC. However, after the bureaucratic restructuring in 2002, the OWF was established as the national responsible agency on women’s and gender equality issues. This change caused confusion for the GFPs officials’ as it was unclear which agencies, they should submit the annual report on their implementation to (GFP-22; GFP-24). Consequently, most of the GFPs submitted the reports to the OCSC according to the Circular Letter. However, some GFPs submitted the report to the OWF as they perceived that the OWF was the main agency responsible for gender issues. Similarly, at the national scale, the interview data demonstrated that the OCSC and OWF staff were confused about the submission of the GFPs’ reports to their organisations and how to utilise these reports (GO-2; GO-4; GO-6). This confusion hindered the reporting system and obstructed an effective annual monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of gender mainstreaming, as a NWM disclosed:

> Since the establishment of this policy [the Cabinet Resolution of 31/07/2001], we [the NWM] have never received 100 percent annual report from the GFPs. At its best, there was only one occasion we got only 60 percent, which acquired lot of efforts to chase up the reports. (GO-5)

This obstruction lasted for 13 years until the new Cabinet Resolution in 2015 advised that the DWF (previously the OWF) was the coordinating agency, responsible for accumulating the GFPs' reports.

Furthermore, policy documents were unresponsive to the fluidity of gender issue. As discussed in Section 6.3.2, the interpretation of gender equality evolved over time. The complexity of gender equality issues, especially sexual orientation and gender identity, had developed and became a prominent issue in Thai society. However, the main policy document on gender mainstreaming, the Cabinet Resolution and the Circular Letter, did not clearly state the issues of sexual orientation and gender identity. This was because these documents were produced in 2001 and 2002 respectively, when the issues were less pertinent. When these policy documents were not responsive to evolving of gender issues, this complicated the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Some policy actors at the NWM and the GFPs affirmed that gender mainstreaming was only focused on the binary concept of the rights of women and men as defined by the Cabinet Resolution and the Circular Letter (GO-2; GO-4; GFP-24). In contrast, some officials believed that the implementation of gender mainstreaming should include the issues of sexual orientation and gender identity (GO-5; GO-6; GFP-22). The dispute, caused by inflexibility of the policy to the change in the organisational context and the complexity of gender issues over time, resulted in arise of tension concerning the conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming in practice. This tension will be further discussed in Section 8.6.4.4.

8.6.2 The problematic of gender mainstreaming mechanisms

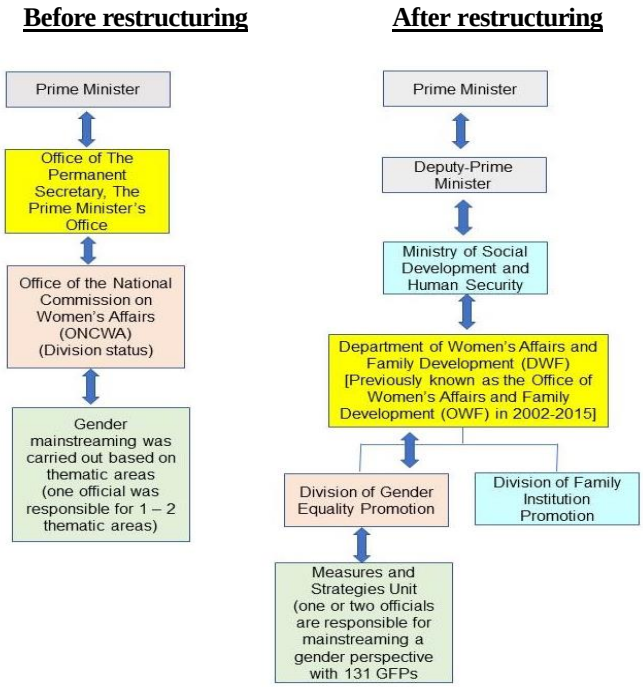
As discussed in Section 6.2, the institutional arrangements for gender mainstreaming in Thailand was influenced by the BDPA and the ECOSOC 1997/2. These mechanisms (NWM, CGEOs, and GFPs) benefited from assigning specific responsible

organisations and units to disseminate and implement gender mainstreaming. However, the structures of these gender mechanisms had also obstructed the implementation and the embedding of gender mainstreaming into institutional settings. The obstacles relating to the bureaucratic arrangement found from this study were the hierarchical structure of the NWM, the burden on junior/middle level staff, the perception of policy actors on the boundary of responsibility, and the contested goals and mandates of organisations.

8.6.2.1 The hierarchical structure and the status of the NWM

The NWM was assigned as the forefront agency responsible for disseminating of gender mainstreaming and directing how it was to be embedded into the Thai policy system at national and implementation scales, as discussed in Section 6.2. However, the relocation of the NWM from a unit under the Prime Minister's Office to a department under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security increased the hierarchical chain of command in comparison with the previous structure. Figure 8.1 demonstrates the hierarchy of the structure of the NWM before and after the restructuring.

Figure 8.1: Hierarchy of the NWM before and after the restructuring



Source: Document and interview data

Figure 8.1 demonstrates that before the restructuring, the work of gender mainstreaming was under a two layer hierarchy. This was under the ONCWA as a division status, and then the Office of the Permanent Secretary, which had a departmental status and was under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister. In contrast, after the restructuring the NWM, the bureaucratic hierarchy was double the length and gender mainstreaming was carried out under a hierarchy of four layers. The first of these was the Measures and Strategies Unit, followed by the Division of Gender Equality Promotion, the DWF as a departmental level, and the Ministry level, which was supervised by the Deputy Permanent-Secretary and the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry. This multi-layered hierarchy reduced the flexibility in working on gender mainstreaming, especially because it extended the process of seeking approval for programmes and projects, as a NWM official explained:

> When I seek approval for a budget or a project, this takes a long process and is time consuming. There are many authorised executives to approve, through the unit, the division, the department, and the ministry. Compared to when the women's mechanism was under the Prime Minister Office, the process was very fast. I just purposed to my head of the unit, my director and then to the Permanent-Secretary. (GO-8)

Furthermore, the new structure has not upgraded the NWM's status or increased annual budgets as claimed in written documents, such as Thailand's report on the Implementation on the BDPA in 2004 (RTG-2004). Regarding the status of the NWM, the majority of the interviewees revealed that the work on gender equality and women's issues was, in reality, placed only in the Division of Gender Equality Promotion, under the OWF/DWF. This evidence suggests that the work on women's rights and gender equality issues was still under a division level as it had been in the previous structure. In terms of financing, before the restructuring, the data from documentary analysis indicated that the budget regarding women's and gender equality issues allocated between 1995 to 1999 from the ONCWA, the Department of Community Development, and the Department of Public Welfare were approximately,

355, 399, 340, 278 million Baht respectively (RTG-1999). After the restructuring in 2002, the above three agencies were integrated as the OWF. The OWF was firstly financed by approximately 20.4 million Baht in 2003 (RTG-2004) and was increased to 352 million Baht in 2016 (RTG-2014). This evidence shows that the restructured NWM was given approximately the same budget as had been allocated under the previous structure. The findings demonstrate the falsity of the claim that the current structure of the NWM had been upgraded.

8.6.2.2 Gender mainstreaming as "burdens" to junior/middle level staff

The institutional arrangements for gender mainstreaming also affected the distribution of the work of gender mainstreaming. At the national scale, gender mainstreaming was previously a cross-cutting issue which all ONCWA staff were designated one or two thematic areas and liaised with their intergovernmental sub-committees to integrate a gender perspective. After the restructuring, the responsibility fell into only a unit where merely 1-2 junior and middle level officials were designated as key officials to liaise with 131 GPFs on gender mainstreaming as a NWM interviewee revealed here:

> Actually, gender mainstreaming work fall in an only one or two junior or middle level staff who are the focal point for all GFPs. (GO-2)

This finding illustrates that the work on gender mainstreaming in the NWM, which was designed to be the mediator for gender mainstreaming, run by only a few officials. This impacted on the dissemination of gender mainstreaming as a NWM official stated that:

> We could do nothing more than provide one or at maximum two sessions for general annual training for GFPs. (GO-6)

Likewise, in the GFPs, both documentary analysis and interview data suggested that most GFPs were structured with 1 - 2 officials, who were mostly female in middle level and junior positions, as discussed in detail in Section 7.2.3. Although the structure of GFP was designed to have CGEOs at an executive level to supervise GFPs, all

interviewed GFP officials revealed that the CGEOs were only symbolic without any real involvement in the GFPs' work, as they disclosed:

> I felt that I worked alone; there was no guidance or direction from my CGEO. The CGEO did not even read my report, just signed on what I reported without any comments. (GFP-25)

> My CGEO does not even recognise her CGEO position. I am on my own, which makes it hard to create any changes in my organisation. (GFP-29)

These narratives illustrate that gender mainstreaming was mostly the responsibility of female junior/middle level officials who had less power and little impact on the policy making decision process of their organisations. This challenge is consistent with other studies, for example, Akpalu et al. (2000) and Tiessen (2005). The findings explain why gender mainstreaming could not be embedded in many contexts, including in Thailand.

8.6.2.3 Bureaucrats' perceptions of the boundary of responsibility

The arrangements of specific gender mainstreaming mechanisms under the bureaucratic system contained an implicit meaning on the boundary line of responsibilities between "our responsibility" and "their responsibilities". Mostly GFP officials perceived that gender mainstreaming was not their mandate, even though this was instructed by the policy documents. For GFP respondents, gender mainstreaming were perceived as the NWM's work, which was transferred to GFPs to perform as they revealed:

> Gender equality work is not our duty, but we have to perform this additional task based on the cabinet resolution (GFP-22).

> My executives said that this [gender mainstreaming] was not the mandate of our department. Then, my executives did not intervene and support this work. (GFP-29)

Within the departments and ministries where the GFPs were situated, the boundary of responsibility also occurred. Gender mainstreaming was perceived as the sole burden of GFPs, not the duty of an entire institution. This perception made the implementation of gender mainstreaming was limited solely to the GFPs' responsibility which made it difficult to embed a gender perspective department wide. A GFP official expressed that:

> I invited the Policy Analyst Unit to attend the annual gender training, but they declined. They replied to me that this [gender issues] did not their mandate. (GFP-27)

These findings illustrate that the institutional arrangements for gender mainstreaming was not passive, but these arrangements constructed meanings of the responsibility boundary of gender mainstreaming. Policy actors interpreted and draw the boundary line of responsibilities between the national and the implementation space and scale, and within the implementation spaces. These findings are associated with existing literature in other contexts that when a specific mechanism for gender mainstreaming was assigned, this task is perceived being as solely the burden of a gender unit (Whitworth, 2004; Puechguirbal, 2010), as discussed in Chapter 2.

8.6.2.4 The contested goals and mandates of organisational space

The contested goals of the key mechanisms occurred both at the national and implementation scales. At the national scale, the NWM (the OWF and later the DWF) was restructured and assigned two mandates: promoting gender equality and strengthening the family institution. These mandates generated an inherent conflict between the goals of the NWM, who had to balance implementation to achieve both mandates. A mandate concerning family issues tended to be prioritised over the mandate on promoting gender equality, as the interviewees explain here:

> Gender equality was not an easy task. It is less tangible than family issues. Then, the DWF focuses on the family issue more than gender issues. (GO-2)

> The work on gender equality was not progressed, when compared with the work on family issues. When talking about the family issue, people agreed this was a critical issue, while gender equality was seen as demanding women's rights. (AC-19)

The statements above also explain how gender equality was not given priority by the NWM because the public tended to be more receptive to the mandate concerning strengthening the family institution. In contrast, the work on gender equality including gender mainstreaming was generally less well received and was perceived as a demand for women's rights. The findings illustrate that the implementation of gender mainstreaming associates with the interactions between organisational space and public space.

Furthermore, the current NWM was positioned under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security; this obligated the NWM to follow the goals and the direction of the Ministry. This structure occasionally interrupted the implementation of gender mainstreaming of the NWM. NWM officials disclosed that some projects on gender mainstreaming could not be implemented as planned because the Ministry recalled the budget to serve other projects (GO-2; GO-5). NWM respondents also revealed that when the executives at the Ministry was less sensitised to the importance of gender work, the implementation of gender mainstreaming was neglected, as one of them elaborated:

> I had waited for a long period to get availability of the executives at the Ministry to chair my project [a conference with the high-level executives of departments/ministries on gender mainstreaming], it was postponed and finally was cancelled. The reason I was given was that gender issues were a non-urgent task. (GO-10)

This finding suggests that the current NWM structure under the Ministry results in competition between mandates as the NWM was obligated to serve their dual

organisation mandates, plus taking account of the assigned priority mandates from the Ministry which held the authority over the NWM.

Similarly, at the implementation scale, the GFP officials were conflicted between their original responsibilities and the GFP mandates. On the one hand, the GFP officials generally held their original posts, for example, as a human resource official or, as an administrative official. On the other hand, they also worked as a GFP. The difficulty in balancing both mandates was explained by them below:

> I must focus on my main task in my department. When the OWF had a letter to ask for cooperation, I just tried to do it [gender mainstreaming] as simply as I can, without undermining my key responsibility in my department. (GFP-23)

> Though I was assigned as GFP, I have my core accountability. I have to pay attention to my main task. If I failed to accomplish this, my executive might not happy and it would impact on my promotion. (GFP-24)

The excerpts above illustrate how the GFP officials had to complete and fulfill both mandates. However, gender mainstreaming was perceived as an additional and less important task. When asking the GFP respondents to weight their percentage of their work as GFPs, all of them stated that gender mainstreaming accounted for around 5 - 20 percent of their overall work and they generally focused on GFP work only if they had spare time. A GFP official revealed that:

> Honestly, I did gender work only if I had time or when the DWF asked for a report. It accounted for around 5 percent of my total work. (GFP-23)

The competing mandates of the GFP officials illustrated a barrier to embedding gender mainstreaming into their institutional space which was influenced in part by

the bureaucratic arrangements for gender mainstreaming mechanisms. These findings demonstrate the complexity of policy in motion regarding space and scale, as policy translation scholars indicated 'space and scale cannot be taken for granted as unproblematic; rather, they are contingent, complex and constructed' (Clarke et al., 2015: 22).

8.6.3 Political will and leadership

Having political will and leadership smoothed the movement of the policy in practice. As highlighted in Section 7.2.3, the remarkable female executives played a key role in forming Thai official policy, and these female executives also played a main role in interpreting, evaluating and making the decision to adopt the policy into the Thai context. In terms of implementation, the political will of the executives in the GFPs also helped to lead their organisations to implement gender mainstreaming, especially in the GFPs that received the Outstanding Award on Gender Equality Promotion (GO-5; GFP-22).

However, a lack of political will amongst the policy actors, especially amongst executives was one of the common hindrances to the movement process, during the implementation of gender mainstreaming in particular. The document analysis and the interview data indicated this barrier was shared in the NWM and the GFPs, as demonstrated by the narratives from various policy actors at different scales below:

> Gender equality is the last issue that [executives in a ministry] paid attention to. (NLA-17)

> When the Director-General rejected [a project on gender mainstreaming], everything was terminated. (GO-4)

> My executives had not been given any direction on gender mainstreaming work and even never realised that there was a GFP in our department. (GFP-30)

A lack of political will was associated with insufficient understanding of gender mainstreaming of executives and staff in the NWM and the GFPs. However, executives' conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming had a great impact on its implementation because the government officials required the executives' approval for this process. For example, when an executive interpreted gender equality as only equality in quantity and did not perceive gender equality as a problem; this undermined the political will in the implementation of gender mainstreaming, as a NWM official explained:

> When I discussed a gender mainstreaming project with [an executive position in a ministry], the executive stated it [gender issues] was not an important issue, there was no need to work on this issue anymore as women were now equal … looking at our ministry, we had many female executives. (GO- 4)

A lack of political will in carrying out gender mainstreaming also shows a connection with the promotion of the executives, particularly in the NWM. The majority of the interviewees, including national committees, academics, and the NWM officials jointly revealed that the executives in the NWM were typically appointed from a person who had no background knowledge and experience on gender issues from other departments. These appointments caused a failure in leading the NWM, the national policy agency for gender mainstreaming, as they explained:

> The problem was the executives came from other places. They neither had technical knowledge on gender issues nor experience on this. Then, they were unable to lead the organisation [the NWM]. (AC-19)

> The promotion of our [the NWM's] executives was not based on their expertise; it was like anyone could be appointed to supervise the gender work, which actually not everyone could do. (GO-1)

> The appointment was not based on a person who understood this issue; this position [the executive at the NWM] was just used for promoting someone regardless of accumulation of experience and knowledge on gender issues (NGO-15)

Likewise, from the perspective of the NWM executive interviewees, they found difficulties in leading the NWM on gender mainstreaming because of a lack of knowledge and expertise on women's and gender issues, as an executive disclosed here:

> Gender mainstreaming is not that easy. For me, I did not have any background or knowledge on this issue before the appointment. This position needed a person who has technical knowledge to be able to lead the organisation [the NWM]. I struggled and took a long time to learn about gender issues. I could not provide any direction and tried to avoid supervising gender equality work during my first two years as an executive here. (GO-10)

When the executives failed to take leadership on gender mainstreaming issues, the implementation of this policy was only rhetoric. Evidence from the interviews showed a correlation between a lack of political will and uneven implementation in most of the GFPs. A NWM official revealed that one GFP refused to formulate the project on gender mainstreaming because 'the new boss did not command staff to do it' (GO- 6). A GFP official also revealed that:

> My department did not even designate a unit to act as GFP because the Director-General was neither interested in this issue nor commanded to do so. (GFP-29)

The findings in this section show that although the policy is evidently transferred through written documents, the transferred policy cannot be translated into practice when there is a lack of political will and leadership.

8.6.4 Conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming as the main impediment to progress and social change

The conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming of the Thai policy actors, especially government officials was the main barrier to the movement of gender mainstreaming. Difficulties surrounding conceptualisation included conceptual confusion, insufficient understanding about operationalisation of the concept, the separation of gender mainstreaming from feminist approaches, and the tension between women's issues and LGBTI issues.

8.6.4.1 Conceptual confusion

The pluralistic interpretations of gender mainstreaming policy caused multiple gender mainstreaming understanding and practice as discussed in Chapter 6. The majority of the policy actors, particularly the government officials who were the key policy agents in carrying out this policy, tended to perceive gender mainstreaming as an add-on issue to the Thai bureaucratic policy processes. In contrast, the policy actors who were outside the core of the implementation of gender mainstreaming into policy processes, for example, international organisation officers, academics, national legislative assembly members, some national committees, and NGOs, tended to perceive the concept of gender mainstreaming as a cross-cutting issue with some interviewees interpreting that a gender perspective should be mainstreamed into both individual and structural aspects. These various understanding illustrates the contested meanings and confusion over the conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming. This problem posed a challenge in terms of how this confusion and disagreement could be resolved so that gender mainstreaming could be embedded in the Thai settings to achieve transformative change of gender inequality as expected by postcolonial feminism.

8.6.4.2 Insufficient understanding and operationalisation of the concept

Based on the conceptual confusion over gender mainstreaming, the implementation was a challenge as the bureaucrats did not have a sufficient understanding of how to put the concept of gender mainstreaming into practice. The NWM and the GFP official admitted that:

> We cannot see how to relate a gender issue and integrate a gender perspective into a thematic area. (GO-6)

> I do not see a way to apply a gender dimension into my organisation's policy process and practice. (GFP-22)

This barrier was also pointed out by the supporting policy actors such as international organisation officers and academics. They highlighted that:

> There are a limited number of officials who have the expertise and understand the content and the context of gender issues. (IO-16)

> The DWF has few officials who understand gender issues and can link this into real practice. The majority of them are struggling, so gender mainstreaming cannot go further. (AC-9)

The excerpts above demonstrate the problem of insufficient understanding of the concept of gender mainstreaming, particularly during the implementation.

This insufficient understanding by the bureaucrats associated with the findings in Chapter 6 in that the Thai policy documents and Thai translation did not provide a substantive understanding of gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, the interview data suggested lack of understanding linked with inadequate staff development and limited resources for gaining knowledge. The issue of staff development involved limited technical training for bureaucrats, particularly for the NWM staff. Most of the NWM

interviewees jointly disclosed that they did not receive training on gender issues as they expressed here:

> I have not been trained or attended proper training sessions on gender issues. I had to seek knowledge by myself to be able to work on this issue. (GO-1)

> The new [NWM] staff have worked for many years without receiving any training. (GO-6)

Additionally, most NWM and GFP respondents indicated that there was no mentoring system. A NWM official revealed that:

> No one mentored the new coming staff; they do not understand gender issues and how to implement. (GO- 10)

Similarly, the GFP officials also encountered this problem, as a GFP official disclosed:

> When I started to work as the GFP, I was only given a pile of previous documents and that is it. (GFP-27)

It could be argued that the bureaucrats could have accumulated their experience and knowledge throughout their periods of work, however, the interview findings suggested that this did not happen. Most interviewees, such as the NWM officials, the national committees, and academics, revealed that most NWM staff generally spent their time on administrative tasks, for example, calculating a budget for projects, organising conferences, and issuing invitation letters. Because of these tasks they had limited time to work on gender issues as a NWM official explained:

> Our knowledge on gender issues did not increase as time pass by because our work was administrative work. We do not have the chance to build up our knowledge. (GO-6)

Likewise, all GFP interviewees also revealed that the majority of their work was related to producing documents, for example, producing an annual report to the NWM or formulating a plan to promote gender equality in their workplaces, as opposed to focusing on implementation to integrate a gender perspective into policy processes.

Additionally, most of the respondents highlighted that there were inadequate resources to increase knowledge on gender mainstreaming and its related concepts. Issues regarding limited resources included no central online and written sources for bureaucrats to strengthen their knowledge on gender mainstreaming (GO-2; GO-5; GO-6; IO-16; GFP-27), limited and incomprehensible handbooks and guidelines on gender mainstreaming (GO-1; GO-2) as well as unsystematic archiving and the loss of documentation (GO-2; GO-6; GFP-22).

When the bureaucrats had limited technical knowledge and expertise, this impacted on the dissemination and implementation of gender mainstreaming. The limited knowledge of the bureaucrats, particularly the NWM officials, explained why they adopted a universal approach to the dissemination of the concept of gender mainstreaming to the GFPs, as discussed in Section 8.4.1. That is, the NWM officials could not provide suggestions on how to mainstream a gender perspective applicable to the diversity of thematic areas and institutional settings. This limitation affected the embedding of gender mainstreaming into the implementation settings because the NWM officials were the key catalyst to disseminate and facilitate gender mainstreaming in Thailand.

8.6.4.3 The separation of gender mainstreaming from feminist approaches

The notion of gender mainstreaming in Thailand was separated from feminist approaches. More than half of the bureaucrat interviewees labelled feminist approaches as in opposition to gender mainstreaming. As one NWM stated:

> [Feminism] is all about women's issues, everything is about women […] the concept is just about pro women without a neutral view. This is not gender mainstreaming. (GO- 6)

This government officials' perspective associated with the finding regarding negative perspective towards feminism, caused by the policy entrepreneurs' liberal and Marxist standpoints, as discussed in 7.3.1.

The misconception of feminism also occurred due to the limited background knowledge of the NWM and GFP bureaucrats on the diversity of feminist approaches. One academic clearly explained this issue in the statement below:

> They [Government officials] do not understand the diversity of [feminist] theories and their developments. When the explanation of gender mainstreaming does not match with their perceptions, they are against the idea and see feminism as an incorrect concept and reject it. (AC-19)

The negative perspective of feminism and the limited knowledge regarding various feminist approaches kept feminist theories and gender mainstreaming apart in the Thai setting. This finding presents a challenge to achieving the transformative goal of gender mainstreaming. To achieve the transformative goal, it needs a combination of the feminist objectives with an understanding of the process of gender inequality (Parpart, 2014). This argument suggests that an understanding of the feminist approaches, policies, and practices should not be separated in advancing gender mainstreaming agenda. Thus, it is clearly why gender mainstreaming in Thailand as yet far removed from the revolutionary goal of gender mainstreaming.

8.6.4.4 Tension between women's issues and LGBTI issues

The practice of gender mainstreaming illustrates a tension of balancing the implementation between women's issues and LGBTI issues. This tension was widely demonstrated in the narratives below, which had been commonly explained by multiple policy actors at different institutional settings:

> Women's issues are less of a concern at the moment, while LGBT issues are extensively emphasised. (GO-13)

> When we organised a women's public assembly to gather women's issues to draft policy recommendations, LGBTs were also invited to the assembly. They raised that all policy recommendations for the advancement of women must include LGBT in every item; this made me feel upset and awkward. (GO-4)

> The issue of women is marginalised by the LGBT issue. (NLA-12)

> The issue of LGBT is now like a fashion. If someone does not talk about this issue or focus on women's issues only they are seen as an old-fashioned person. (AC-19)

The emergence of this tension interconnected with other findings in this study. As discussed in Section 6.3.2, gender mainstreaming had been evolved which related to the complexity and fluidity of gender issues in the Thai context. In particular, the concept of gender equality had become increasingly focused on sexual orientation and gender identity issues. Furthermore, the ambiguous response of the key policy documents to gender mainstreaming failed to provide an understanding for policy actors on this issue and opened for personal interpretations on gender mainstreaming, as indicated in Section 8.6.1. Additionally, many NWM officials hold a misconception of feminist approaches by thinking that feminists focus only on women's issues, which competed with the notion of gender mainstreaming as explained in Section 8.6.4.3. These three factors affected the interpretation and the implementation of gender mainstreaming by policy actors, particularly the NWM, to be increasingly emphasised sexual orientation and gender identity issues in which women's issues tended to be left at periphery.

The tension clearly arose after the enactment of the 2015 Gender Equality Law. The evidence indicated that after the enactment of this law, the NWM bureaucrats alertly responded by focusing on LGBTI rights. From the documentary analysis, the content of the training documents produced by the NWM after 2015 largely highlighted the

idea of sexual orientation and gender identity in the training contents for GFPs. Furthermore, due to the fact that this Law is the first revolutionary law guaranteed non-discrimination based on gender, the NWM tended to disseminate this law to public by attaching the concept of gender inequality emphasising sexual orientation and gender identity. Consequently, the public tended to perceive that this law as a protection law only for LGBTI persons. This finding was supported by the interview data that since the law was enacted, there has been no petition case on discrimination against women (GO-5; NGO-11; NGO-15). Furthermore, due to no petition case against discrimination women, some policy actors, for example, that of a number of government officials and national legislative assembly members assumed that women did not encounter any gender inequality problem, as an NGO worker revealed:

> A member of national legislative sub-committee mentioned in a national conference that women were no longer facing gender inequality issue; there was no need to work on women's rights. We [the Thai government] must focus on LGBT rights. (NGO-15)

On the positive aspect, the focus on LGBTI rights illustrates the advancement of the notion of gender equality in Thailand which is shifting from the traditional male-female binary concept towards the complexity of gender issues based on sexual orientation and gender identity. This progression goes in line with sensitising to the intersectionality of gender inequality a key area of advocacy in postcolonial feminism. However, an adverse effect of this shift was that women's issues were reduced to being located at the periphery of the implementation of gender mainstreaming. The misconception that women were free from gender discrimination portrayed a failure in recognition of the diversity of women's experiences, as a respondent explained:

> The claim that women have better status is only for middle-class women, this is not for working-class women. The working-class women's voices are not heard. The upper and middle-class women who can raise their voices ignore the oppression of the working-class women. Gender inequality

> continued to encompass the life of those women, for example, home-based workers, and migrant workers. (AC-19)

The statement above indicates that the diversity of categories of women and experiences, one of the key concerns of postcolonial feminism to tackling gender inequality, was less recognised.

This tension leaves a query as to how to balance the implementation of gender mainstreaming so as to inclusively respond to the complexity and diversity of gender inequality in Thai society. This will be discussed in Chapter 9.

8.6.5 Patriarchy: The deep-seated barrier

The embedding of gender mainstreaming was difficult when considering the cultural context with in and surrounding the Thai settings. This is because policy was not operated under a free-flowing system (McCann and Ward, 2012), but traveled into the Thai institutions where it was entrenched within the cultural context. The interview findings suggested that patriarchal culture was perpetuated in the Thai context and was the derivative cause of all barriers. The patriarchy norms controlled and impeded the movement of gender mainstreaming in three aspects: the arrangements of gender mainstreaming mechanisms; the creation of policy documents; and the perception and practice of policy actors on gender mainstreaming, which are explained below.

Regarding the arrangements of the gender mainstreaming mechanisms, as highlighted in Section 8.6.2, the NWM was practically degraded after the restructuring to holding two often contradictory mandates: the promotion of gender equality and the strengthening of family issues. The interview findings indicated that this was a consequence of the patriarchal perspective of most parliamentarians. The initial proposal for the restructuring, originated from the consultation among the feminist scholars, leading female bureaucrats, and women's NGOs, who strived to establish a specific department to oversee only women's issues and gender equality. However, when this proposal was passed forward for approval in the parliament, the proposal was rejected. A national committee (NC-18) revealed that the male-dominated parliament disapproved of the proposal because they claimed that women's issues were not critical enough to

warrant the establishment of a specific department. Furthermore, many parliamentarians perceived that the work on women's issues should be combined with the work on family issues because the role of women should be attached to the family institution. This claim illustrates the entrenched patriarchal norms in which women's roles were scoped in the private sphere, for example, as a mother, a child carer, and a house worker to nurture and support their families. This finding further suggests the patriarchal perspective strongly embedded in the parliament, which crucially holds the decision making authority.

Furthermore, the patriarchal culture shaped the way in which the gender mainstreaming policy was formulated. The interview data revealed that the bureaucrats involved in the formation of this policy avoided confronting the patriarchal structure in the Thai bureaucratic settings as a national committee disclosed:

> When formulating this [gender mainstreaming] policy, I thought about how to avoid resistance. The way I chose was not explicitly talking about women's rights and gender equality. We adopted the term "promotion of the role of women and men" instead of obviously applying the term promoting gender equality to assure the approval of this policy. (NC-18)

The statement above shows that the Thai policy actors tried to morph the notion of gender mainstreaming to reconcile with the patriarchal culture in the Thai system. This finding explains why the notion of UN gender mainstreaming was transformed into "a soft version" by restricting the boundaries of Thai gender mainstreaming to only as bureaucratic strategy in government sector, without dismantling the patriarchal structure of Thai society. This finding also indicates that patriarchy affected the movement of gender mainstreaming regarding how this notion was shaped, placed and interpreted into the Thai context as the new setting.

Patriarchal norms were also embedded in the mentality of some policy actors. The existence of patriarchal norms was not apparent from the documentary analysis; however, this was clearly illustrated by the interviews, particularly in some NWM and GFP officials. One NWM official expressed:

> Gender equality might undermine the role of women in family, such as the role of women in taking care of family. I am quite concerned that if women have more opportunity…I mean economic independence…err…career progression…they might less focus on their role in child rearing. (GO-2)

The statement above exemplifies that even government officials who worked on gender equality issues held the traditional perception of gender roles in which women's roles were relegated to the bearing of children and the responsibility for childcare and housework. This traditional perception suggests that the patriarchal perspective remains deeply embedded in policy actors' mentality, particularly government officials.

Additionally, the perception that there was no gender inequality problem, especially among government officials was significantly found. Interview data shows that gender inequality issues were always a hilarious issue, especially for male staff. A NWM official's experience narrated below, exemplified a male official's perspective towards gender inequality during a capacity building session on gender mainstreaming:

> Many male officials always said that "my wife is the most powerful person at home. I obeyed my wife's order. Why not equality? Women are not inferior comparing to men; I am never against my wife's order." (GO-1)

The patriarchal mentality of government officials also caused resistance towards gender mainstreaming which hindered the embedding process of the policy into their institutional contexts. The resistance found in this study in two forms: indirect and

direct resistance. The indirect resistance was exposed in forms of ignorance of the idea of gender inequality. This ignorance was demonstrated by those who accepted the transfer of the idea of gender mainstreaming into their institutions, but they claimed that gender inequality did not exist in their organisations as a GFP executive stated:

> In our organisation, we recognise the importance of the gender equality issue, but we do not have a gender inequality issue in our office. We provide an equal opportunity for all. (GFP-26)

Regarding direct resistance, this was revealed by various interviewees in many forms, for example, walking out from the training sessions (AC-9; GO-1), joking about gender inequality issues (GO-2; NC-18), and refusing proposals for projects on gender mainstreaming (GO-6; GFP-28). However, the respondents suggested the direct resistance had started to decline (GO-1; GO-2; AC- 9; NLA-12). The decline of the direct resistance could be explained by an increase of laws, policies, and activities related to protecting women's rights and promoting gender equality. The change in public opinion towards awareness of these issues was reported in the official documents, for instance, Thailand's reports on the implementation of the BDPA in 2010 and 2014 (RTG-2010; RTG-2014). On the contrary, indirect resistance remained strong and prohibited the localisation of gender mainstreaming to being encompassed in the Thai institutional settings.

8.7 Conclusion and discussion

This chapter has illustrated the interconnection between international-national-implementation spaces and scales of the movement of gender mainstreaming, which has been less emphasised in current studies. To highlight this interconnection, reasons driving the Thai policy actors in adopting gender mainstreaming into their settings have been explained. Furthermore, how gender mainstreaming was located from international to national institutions as well as from national to implementation institutions has been discussed. Importantly, this chapter has explored barriers and explained why gender mainstreaming could not be embedded in the Thai settings,

leaving it as a far-reaching goal to be achieved the transformative agenda of postcolonial feminism. The key findings in relation to Research Question 3 "What reasons underpinning the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand and what are approaches adopted by policy actors to locate this notion into their institutional settings?" included:

- The Thai government did not solely adopt gender mainstreaming because of the pressure from international norms and commitments, but also because of Thailand's need to respond to the change of their socio-economic contexts.

- The Thai government did not establish the national policy on gender mainstreaming by simply copying from the UN. In contrast, the key bureaucrats applied a combination of various approaches including applying UN gender mainstreaming as a standard, drawing on the experience of a particular country, or merging examples from many countries through negotiation and evaluation, and then taking the decisions in forming their own gender mainstreaming policy.

- The localisation of gender mainstreaming from the national policy into the Thai institutional settings illustrated that the NWM and the OCSC widely adopted a vertical approach through the use of directive policy, command and control, and universal design to introduce and place gender mainstreaming into practice of the GFPs in the Thai departments and ministries. This suggests that the Thai national institutions perceived the movement of gender mainstreaming as simply process, so these approaches resulted in the unsettling and the disjuncture of gender mainstreaming in practice.

The key findings in relation to Research Question 4 "What are key barriers to embedding gender mainstreaming into the Thai institutions?" were

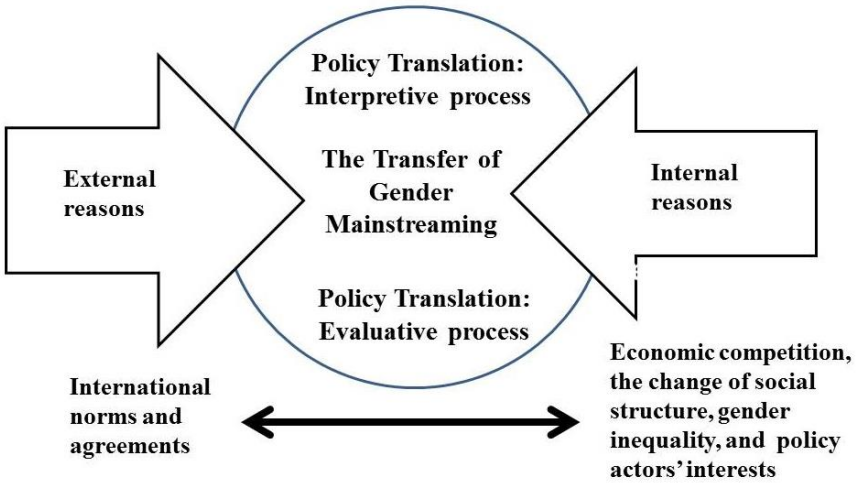
- The embedding of gender mainstreaming into the Thai settings faced barriers included (1) inflexible policy to the evolving context, (2) the problem of structure of gender mainstreaming mechanisms, (3) a lack of political will and leadership of the key bureaucratic actors, (4) the conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming,

and (5) patriarchy. These obstacles demonstrated that political, social, and institutional contexts surrounding Thai institutions impacted on the movement of gender mainstreaming into the diverse Thai settings.

Based on these key findings, the following sections will discuss their interconnections and the implications linked to the current debates and studies.

The vital impetus of the movement of gender mainstreaming was related to bi-directional factors as demonstrated by Figure 8.2 below:

Figure 8.2: Bi-directional reasons for the Thai government's engagement in gender mainstreaming



Source: Author's analysis from document and interview data

Figure 8.2 illustrates that bi-directional reasons are categorised into the external and internal reasons. The pressure from international norms and agreements including CEDAW and the BDPA shows that an external factor steered the Thai government into engaging in the movement of gender mainstreaming. This finding echoes the idea of policy transfer in which a country is obligated to transfer policy because of pressure from supranational organisations (Evans, 2009; Stone, 2012). As regards the internal factors, these related to the situation of gender inequality in Thai society drove policy actors, particularly the female high-level bureaucrats who experienced gender discrimination in their workplace, to search for a policy to tackle the gender

inequality issue. For these bureaucrats, gender mainstreaming was seen as "a window of opportunity" for them to address gender inequality that they faced every day. Moreover, the change of Thailand's socio-economic circumstance, for example, the need to increase economic competitiveness and an increase of life expectancy of the female population, pushed Thailand to search for new ideas to develop their policies. These internal factors indicate a rational choice of policy transfer, which occurs when policy actors are dissatisfied with the status quo (Rose, 1991). Consequently, the Thai policy makers try to find an effective policy from other settings to inform the development of their own policies.

However, the internal factors in affecting the engagement in gender mainstreaming by the Thai government also echoes policy as translation in which policy is an interpretive and evaluative process as demonstrated in the center of the circle of Figure 8.2. The interpretive and evaluative process is illustrated by this study on the ways in which the Thai government evaluated these internal factors, determined the requirements, and made a judgment about introducing gender mainstreaming into Thai policy. This finding further indicates that the movement of policy is not independent, but demonstrates that how the policy actors decided to engage in the movement was interconnected with the social, economic and political aspects of the Thai setting.

Additionally, Figure 8.2 demonstrates that the external and internal factors are interconnected. One example to explain this connection is the internal factor regarding the increasing economic productivity of the country. This idea did not purely emerge from within the Thai context. This concept is also influenced by the expansion of Western neoliberal economic ideology, which believes in increasing country's economic capacity. The interconnection between the external and internal factors demonstrates that scales and their connectivity is a vital aspect for advancing the understanding of reasons underpinning the movement of gender mainstreaming.

This chapter further articulated how the Thai policy actors moved the notion of gender mainstreaming at the international scale into the national setting. The NWM and the OCSC bureaucrats as the key policy agents adopted a mixture of approaches

to establish Thailand's gender mainstreaming policy. The approaches found in this study reflect wide-ranging types of policy transfer from 'emulation', and 'inspiration', to 'combination' as discussed in detail in Section 8.3. However, this study illustrates that the Thai bureaucrats did not directly replicate UN gender mainstreaming into their policy. This finding is consistent with the policy transfer literature which suggests that policies are rarely direct copied without alteration or mediation by policy agents (Dolowitz, 2009; Marsh and Evans, 2012b). One explanation for non-duplication is that policy movement is not a process of replication, but policy is transformed when it travels to a new setting (Jones et al., 2004; McCann and Ward, 2013; Clarke et al., 2015). Instead of a simple mimicking of UN gender mainstreaming, the Thai government applied various methods to morph UN gender mainstreaming to establish their own national policy based on their interpretation, evaluation and judgement. This substantiates the idea that policy is 'bending and blending' when it travels from one context to another across spaces and scales (Clarke et al., 2015: 53). These findings are associated with the study of policy transfer and translation of integrated care development in Singapore, for example, which also found that the concept of integrated care is wide-ranging, transferred from inspiration and emulation to hybridisation forms with no evidence of direct replication of this concept and the implementation from other countries (Ow Yong, 2018). This evidence clearly indicates that countries can learn a policy concept from other countries; however, the establishment of a policy and the direction of its implementation is not a simple reproduction of the original policy.

This study has explored and explained how gender mainstreaming was moved from the national policy into implementation institutions, which is limited explanation in the literature, particularly the Thai literature. It has illustrated that the NWM and the OCSC introduced gender mainstreaming into the GFPs mainly through a vertical approach by using the power of the national policy, command and control, and universal design to direct all GFPs on how to mainstream a gender perspective into practice. This approach can be equivalent to 'coercive transfer' in which a country is obligated to transfer policy following pressure from another country or supranational organisations (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; Evans 2009). However, this study further indicates that the coercive transfer does not only occur across countries, this coercive

form occurs within the country context when policy travels from the national jurisdiction to implementation jurisdictions.

Furthermore, the vertical transfer approach used by the NWM and the OCSC suggests the connection between this approach and the power relations between policy actors. The use of a vertical approach illustrates the domination of hierarchy in Thai bureaucracy in which the national policy actors use authority to enforce the transfer and the implementation of gender mainstreaming in GFPs. This finding associates with an explanation that policy transfer is more a top-down process when the hierarchy is the dominant mode (Marsh and Evans, 2012). From this study, this explanation is demonstrated by the supremacy of the NWM and the OCSC, which had been located under the supervision of the Prime's Minister Office, where they gained the directive power to control over the GFPs in departments and ministries.

When the form of authority changes, the approach to transferring gender mainstreaming is also altered. Due to the restructuring of the NWM, the NWM experienced a loss of directive power. This change resulted in the adjustment of the approach used by the NWM; the NWM occasionally complementarily adopted the horizontal approach to the vertical approach with some departments and ministries. The forms of horizontal approach included offering annual awards for outstanding agencies on gender equality promotion and establishing a bilateral agreement to attract the engagement of departments and ministries in gender mainstreaming. These NWM's attempt reflects the 'voluntary transfer' form (Dolowitz and Marsh; 1996). In this study, the NWM are shown to seek engagement from the departments and ministries without using force in order to integrate a gender perspective based on the voluntary engagement of Thai institutions. This finding again shows that forms of transfer can explained the nature of the movement of gender mainstreaming within the national context. The finding adds an indication to policy transfer to expand its investigation from transnational movement to more emphasise the movement of transnational policy within the national settings.

The approaches adopted by the NWM and the OCSC bureaucrats, discussed above, illustrate that the Thai government merely perceives the movement of gender

mainstreaming as an object which can be moved straightforwardly from one setting to another without complexity. This idea has been criticised by policy translation scholars (Jones et al., 2004; McCann and Ward, 2012; Clarke et al., 2015). The shortcoming of perceiving policy as an object had an impact on unsettling policy practice and the disembedding of gender mainstreaming in diverse institutional settings. The use of directive policy documents could not enforce the GFPs to transfer and implement gender mainstreaming because the GFPs perceived the policy documents as only written paper that did not carry any enforcement. Additionally, the unsettling of policy in practice was demonstrated by the illusional fictions contained in the written documents produced by some GFPs. A number of the GFP annual reports and plans on gender mainstreaming were written only to fulfil the bureaucratic requirement of the national policy by not considering the possibility of policy in practice to achieve gender equality. These findings indicate what is written is unable to confirm actual implementation of gender mainstreaming. It further points out that although gender mainstreaming is transferred into the written documents of the GFPs, the connection between performativity and sustainable practice cannot be guaranteed. This study reflects the necessity of investigating how approaches for moving policy into new settings impact on practice. These considerations accentuate the need to observe policy as translation regarding performativity and practice.

Regarding the unsettling of policy in diverse contexts, the universal training design and guidelines were adopted by the NWM to transfer the notion of gender mainstreaming for all GFPs disregarding the diversity and distinction of the background and experience of the GFP officials and impact of the different institutional settings of the GFPs. This finding indicates a lack of sensitivity of the NWM officials towards different contexts when policy is moved into new diverse institutional settings, as highlighted by policy translation (Mossberger and Wolman, 2003; Clarke et al., 2015). The finding is also associated with van Eerdewijk's argument (2014) that gender mainstreaming is translated into simplistic and homogeneous policy solutions. This issue highlights the need to pay attention to systems surrounding a new setting and how the new setting implements policy. This is because policies are interpreted, translated, and implemented under the influence of historical backgrounds, political structures and features of the new setting (Clarke et

al., 2015). Moreover, the findings indicate the importance of being aware of the diversity of local contexts by not assuming and treating all individuals and settings as homogeneous, one key aspect of postcolonial feminist arguments.

As mentioned, barriers to embedding gender mainstreaming found in this study included (1) inflexible policy documents to the evolving contexts, (2) the bureaucratic structures of gender mainstreaming mechanisms, (3) political will and leadership of key policy actors, (4) the conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming, and (5) patriarchy embedded in Thai institutions. These impediments mirror the idea of 'cognitive and environmental obstacles' in policy transfer, as highlighted by Evans (2009:246).

As regards the conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming, this impediment illustrates the 'cognitive obstacles' which are related to the perception and receptivity of policy actors towards policy. However, while Evans (2009: 246) suggests that 'cognitive obstacles' occur in the pre-decision phrase, this research has added a new explanation to an understanding of the 'cognitive obstacles' that this obstacle were an ongoing issue which occurred at all stages of policy movement, from the formation to the implementation. During the formation of the Thai gender mainstreaming policy, the bureaucrats involved in proposing this policy, tried to avoid resistance from other authorities, for example, from the parliament and cabinet by replacing "gender equality" with the term "promotion of the roles of women and men" to soften the connotation of this policy in order to get approval. When the gender mainstreaming policy was stipulated into implementation, the tension within this cognitive obstacle increasingly emerged. These obstacles were created around conceptual confusion, insufficient understanding to operationalise the concept, the separation of gender mainstreaming from the theory and practice of feminism, and the modern tensions on balancing the implementation between women's rights and LGBTI issues. These challenges demonstrate that cognitive obstacles did not only arise during the pre-decision phase, but emerged throughout the movement of policy. This highlights policy as translation regarding policy is an unfinished process, which is not simply moved from one setting and another and is complete (McCann, 2011; Clarke et al., 2015).

The findings on the problem of conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming is associated with existing literature in other contexts (Woodward, 2001; Carney, 2004; Thomas, 2005; Guenther, 2008; Payne, 2014) as discussed in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, in the Thai literature, the explanation regarding conceptual confusion in this study has advanced an understanding of this obstacle because the previous studies only mentioned that gender mainstreaming is subjective and difficult to understand without an in-depth explanation. The findings also indicate an importance to capture the practice of policy in motion; this helps to advance an understanding of the movement of gender mainstreaming particularly how the cognitive aspect hindered the embedding of this notion into a new setting.

Regarding the challenges of inflexibility of policy documents, the bureaucratic structures of gender mainstreaming mechanisms, a lack of political will and leadership, and patriarchy deep-rooted in Thai society, these are associated with 'environmental obstacles' of policy transfer, that occur during the implementation phase. However, this study has further explained that 'environment obstacles' are not a clear-cut category, but that in fact these obstacles are interrelated between and among them. A clear indication from this study is that patriarchy in Thai institutions was the root cause of other obstacles. Patriarchy in Thailand has controlled and embedded (1) the ways in which the gender mainstreaming mechanisms were arranged, (2) how the policy documents were created, and (3) how policy actors perceived and implemented gender mainstreaming. These findings confirm again that policy does not operate under a free-flowing system, but advises that social-practical, interpersonal, and institutional factors need to be considered when locating policy in a new local setting (McCann and Ward, 2012). The 'environmental obstacles' embedded in a particular setting, which is unique and diverse, further indicates the flaw in the notion of the universality of gender mainstreaming which can be instantly applied to all settings.

In essence, this chapter has illustrated and justified why the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand is complex, which policy is an interconnectivity of international-national-implementation space and scales. Moreover, this chapter has demonstrated that a "universal" policy paradigm such as gender mainstreaming cannot be moved and embedded into a new setting without an understanding of the

diversity on a specific local context as indicated by postcolonial feminism. The multi-space and multi-scalar interconnection as well as the social, political, and cultural particularity of the new setting can impede the embedding of gender mainstreaming in motion.

Chapter 9
Conclusion: The Past and the Prospects for Gender Mainstreaming

This final chapter highlights how this thesis contributes to the theoretical and empirical knowledge in debates on gender mainstreaming. The chapter begins by emphasising the key arguments and the key findings of this study in relation to the research questions. On the basis of these key findings, the study suggests the policy implications for the movement of gender mainstreaming in Thailand which might be of benefit for wider contexts. The chapter also underlines the contributions of this study to filling gaps in existing knowledge. It concludes by discussing the limitations of this research, and recommendations for future studies.

9.1 Looking back: Disjuncture of gender mainstreaming from one setting to another

This thesis has explored and explained the process of the movement of UN gender mainstreaming into Thailand to establish an understanding of this under-explored and under-theorised topic. The movement of gender mainstreaming was examined and analysed through the tripartite conceptual framework, consisting of postcolonial feminism, policy transfer, and policy translation. The study employed multi-scalar qualitative empirical study through documentary analysis involving 38 documents and semi-structured interviews with 30 policy actors at international, national, and implementation scales. These policy actors included officers who work for international agencies, members of national committees and national legislative assembly, bureaucrats in the national women's machinery (NWM) and in the Gender Focal Points (GFPs), staff from non-governmental and independent organisations, as well as academics.

To understand the movement process, what elements of the notion of gender mainstreaming were introduced, and how these elements were interpreted and understood by multiple policy actors have been critically examined. This study has also identified and discussed the multiple policy actors involved in the movement process and their power dynamics. Furthermore, the reasons for and the approaches adopted by the key policy agents to introduce this policy into and within Thai

institutional settings, as well as the barriers to embedding gender mainstreaming into Thailand, have been investigated.

This study argues and has demonstrated that the movement of "universal" gender mainstreaming into Thailand is a non-linear process. The movement process involves plural policy meanings, multiple and multi-scalar policy actors and their interaction under gender hierarchies and power dynamics, as well as diverse and unique institutional contexts. A lack of acknowledgement and consideration of these issues explains why gender mainstreaming could not be embedded when it traveled to Thailand. The following sections elaborate on the key outcomes of this study, based on the four research questions.

9.1.1 Unsettling of policy meaning

In response to Research Question 1, "what elements of gender mainstreaming have been introduced into the Thai context and how are these interpreted?", this study discovers that both hard and soft forms of policy transfer were introduced into the Thai settings. The receptivity of the Thai government to the notion of gender mainstreaming was illustrated by the arrangements of gender mainstreaming mechanisms in Thailand. This reflects 'hard transfer', while 'soft transfer' was involved with the adoption of gender equality as policy goals, gender mainstreaming as policy strategy, and the policy approach of gender mainstreaming as policy content.

However, an in-depth analysis of these transferred elements undertaken in this study illustrates that the notion of gender mainstreaming was not transferred as designed by the UN. Instead, the study indicated policy as translation in which policy is a meaning-making process. The Thai policy actors interpreted, reinterpreted, and reinvented the meaning of gender mainstreaming based on their understanding and judgement, which resulted in plurality, evolution, and transformation of this notion.

Regarding plurality, gender equality, the goal of gender mainstreaming, was variously interpreted as (1) the same treatment between women and men, (2) a concern for specific individual needs, and (3) an individual and structural equality. Similarly, different policy agents hold dissimilar views of the policy approach of gender

mainstreaming. Three types of these interpretations included (1) an add-on issue, (2) a cross-cutting issue, and (3) micro and macro issues. These plural interpretations illustrate that below the "assumed" policy consensus in written forms or acknowledgement of the policy actors; in fact, there was illusion about the consensus on the concept of gender mainstreaming.

As regards the evolution, this study has demonstrated that the movement of gender mainstreaming was an unfinished process in which policy meaning evolved over time. Gender equality in the Thai context was initially perceived as equality regarding the male - female binary perspective. However, this idea was later perceived by policy actors to cover intersectionality in which gender inequalities are intersected by social and economic status, as well as, an especially sexual orientation and gender identity. The evolution of meaning impacted on the focus of policy agents in the practice of gender mainstreaming which was also varied based on the policy agents' individual perceptions of gender equality. This evolution reflects the idea that 'meanings are usually in motion – they only rarely become crystallised and solidified' (Clarke et al, 2015: 20).

Significantly, the notion of gender mainstreaming was shown to have been reinterpreted and transformed when it travelled from the UN into Thai policy. The two-dimensional UN gender mainstreaming strategy, which was empowering women and establishing gender sensitive policy for all, was detached from and officially reinvented by the Thai bureaucrats as the bureaucratic exercise of integrating a gender perspective "within and outside" the Thai bureaucratic structure. This transformation echoes the idea that policy is never neutral because some aspects are translated while others are not (Clarke et al, 2015). It further reflects that 'the moment of policy transfer is also a moment of policy formation and the translation of the policy knowledge with these other knowledges will often produce something new' (Prince, 2010: 173). The transformation undermined an opportunity for gender mainstreaming to bring about a revolutionary change to gender inequality, as expected by postcolonial feminism. This was because gender mainstreaming strategy in Thailand was largely perceived and implemented as in-house personnel management in the civil servant system based on the transformation of the policy meaning.

The study has added a new indication to explain the interconnections between the pluralistic meanings and the conceptualisation of policy agents of the notion of gender mainstreaming when it travels across space, scales, and languages. The diverse interpretations of gender mainstreaming were related to individuals' conceptualisation of policy meaning. This conceptualisation illustrates that the construction of the meaning of gender mainstreaming of the Thai policy actors depended on the distance of space relating to the extent to which individual policy actors could access to sources of understanding of gender mainstreaming, based on the clarity of the policy documents, their background knowledge, professional experiences and English proficiency.

Furthermore, this study has elaborated the intricacy of policy as translation which relates to the linguistics and politics of translation. The linguistic turn of policy as meaning played a part in shaping the understanding of, and explained the reasons for the plural meanings of gender mainstreaming, held by the policy actors. As gender mainstreaming traveled across English into Thai languages, the study has illustrated the difficulties in the Thai translation of the term "gender mainstreaming" and related concepts such as "gender and gender equality". The Thai translations of these terminologies were multiple, evolving, inconsistent, and could not convey a substantive meaning in the English language. Furthermore, it shows that language is a place of struggle where policy actors exercised their power and shaped the translation based on their standpoints, their agenda in achieving a specific goal, and who gained more authority to define the Thai translation. The difficulties of linguistic translation reflect a concern of postcolonial feminism regarding the domination of knowledge when a so-called "worldwide" gender mainstreaming policy produced in a "Western" institution where English is the medium of communication travels to a non-English speaking context. This study contends that a difference of language between "Western" institutions and the "subalterns" leads to the problem of 'epistemic violence' (Spivak, 1988: 25), whereby the local languages are dominated and continue to struggle to fit in the ideology and concept produced by "Western" institutions.

In substance, the study reveals that not all elements of the notion of "universal" gender mainstreaming could be transferred into the Thai institutions. The movement

of gender mainstreaming is not an isomorphic process, instead this process relates to interpretations and conceptualisations of policy actors towards policy meanings. This highlights a need for policy analysts and actors to understand fluidity, the dynamic, and unfinished process of policy in motion, particularly policy as meaning-making, as suggested by policy translation. Additionally, the hegemony of the English language, linguistic translation and its politics need to be considered to make sense of the study of policy movement, particularly when policy travels across sites and languages. The diverse interpretations and unsettling of policy meaning opens an uncertainty for policy actors, and explains why gender mainstreaming tends to be disconnected and unable to be embedded when it is moved to the Thai setting.

9.1.2 Multi-scalar and multiple policy agents and asymmetric power relations

Regarding Research Question 2, "who has been involved in introducing gender mainstreaming and what are the power dynamics among policy actors?", the study has illustrated multiple and multi-scalar policy agents involved in the movement of gender mainstreaming. This is a focus which has been little explored in literature, particularly in the Thai literature. These policy actors included bureaucrats, academics, policy entrepreneurs, international agencies, donor countries, and non-governmental organisations. However, the study especially highlighted that the movement of gender mainstreaming in Thailand was dominated by the national bureaucrats in the NWM and the OCSC who influenced in policy transfer by adopting and disseminating this concept to Thai national policy and into institutions. These policy agents also played a predominant role in policy translation regarding linguistic translations, shaping the policy meaning, and constructing the national policy on gender mainstreaming. Similarly, the central bureaucratic policy agents who were the GFPs in departments and ministries also occupied the space of gender mainstreaming practice in Thailand.

Under the domination of the central bureaucratic actors, the Thai government provided only some space for policy actors outside the bureaucracy, who assisted the Thai government in bringing in gender perspectives into Thai institutions. Academics and policy entrepreneurs took part by disseminating the concept of gender mainstreaming based on their interpretations and standpoints. Their involvement was in the form of working with the NWM as a committee member and providing training sessions,

particularly to NWM and GFP officials. Furthermore, the transnational policy agents and the donors who were from the Global North agencies engaged in the movement of gender mainstreaming. Their involvement was in the form of technical support such as providing training sessions and consultants, as well as financial support to Thai initiation programmes or for donors' specific targeted projects. However, the involvement of these supporting actors was based on invitation and the decision of the main bureaucratic policy actors to allow them to take part in the process. The domination of the central bureaucratic agents has also excluded and marginalised frontline workers and non-governmental organisations, who directly provided the service and had a close contact with service users. This domination suggests a lack of sensitivity of the Thai government towards how policy works through multiple agents and scales, particularly implementation scale. This further indicates a loss of opportunity for gender mainstreaming to be firmly embedded in multi-scalar settings.

This study has also revealed that policy movement is connected with the complex power relations among policy actors. Policy agents interacted in variant forms of power and authority, which changed over time based on the construction of space. In this case, it was clearly explained when the NWM was restructured and the authority was restricted; this transformed its power over other ministries/departments from vertical directive control to a horizontal cooperative relationship. The change of forms of authority impacted on the absorption of gender mainstreaming into Thai institutional settings because the directive and monitoring power of the NMW over other jurisdictions became limited.

The power of the hegemonic relationship between the Global North over the Global South has also been elaborated. It has been shown that Western-dominated international agencies, for example, the UN and UN Women, could influence the Thai government in transferring the notion of gender mainstreaming into Thai policy. However, there was no robust indication in policy translation regarding the framing of the notion and implementing of gender mainstreaming, as the translation was based on the selection and decision-making of high-level Thai officials. In contrast, the supremacy of Western institutions clearly emerged from donor countries in that they indirectly controlled the Thai government through financial support in adopting and implementing gender

mainstreaming based on their agenda, for example, providing their experts as consultants to work with the NWM bureaucrats, or defining gender analysis and sex-disaggregated data as requirements for their financially supported projects. This supremacy indicates that the financial factor was a main source of the hegemony of the Global North over the Global South.

Power dynamics also interconnected with scale. The interaction of policy actors was not necessarily in a linear form of international-national-implementation scalar interaction. At times, a jumping of scale occurred, as in this study it has been demonstrated that the NWM as the Thai national mechanism for gender mainstreaming did not always play as a mediator between international organisations, and other departments and ministries. Instead, international organisations occasionally had direct interaction with departments which were at implementation scale of Thai gender mainstreaming. The study further demonstrated the fluidity of policy actors across scales. Policy actors were not fixed within a particular scale, instead they travelled across, between and within scales. When a policy actor moved, they also carried their values, beliefs, and practices of gender mainstreaming which might be compatible or might clash with their new settings. The involvement of new actors further shattered or challenged the assumed policy consensus, meaning, and practices. These findings highlight that scale which has received less attention in the current debates, is a useful analytical element for understanding policy movement.

Patriarchy controls the way that policy actors involve the movement process. In Thailand, gender discrimination was illustrated by gender mainstreaming tasks being mostly undertaken by, and designated to female bureaucrats. This is because these tasks were perceived as women's issues for which only women should take responsibility. Consequently, male bureaucrats ignored, or distanced themselves, or excluded themselves from the movement of gender mainstreaming. Due to the predominance of patriarchal norms in the Thai bureaucratic institutions, gender mainstreaming could not permeate into an organisation with strong masculine cultures, for example, the Ministry of Defense as noticeably they did not take part in establishing the gender mainstreaming mechanisms. The existing patriarchal culture in the Thai bureaucratic institutions deters an embeddedness of gender mainstreaming

into all institutions in Thailand. This study indicates that an investigation of policy actors in policy movement cannot be separated from an understanding of gender hierarchy which influences the interaction of policy agents, and entrenches in the institutional settings.

In essence, gender mainstreaming in Thailand was occupied by the national bureaucratic actors with the opening of a little space for non-bureaucratic policy agents to take part in the process, and led the exclusion of policy actors who could have further helped with embedding gender mainstreaming in practice. This explains a reason for the disembedding of gender mainstreaming when it is moved to the Thai settings. This study draws attention to the need to engage a wide-range of policy agents at multiple scales into 'genuine' participation and to reshape the asymmetric power among policy actors.

9.1.3 The flawed perception of policy as a completed transferable object

Regarding Research Question 3, "what reasons underpin the movement of gender mainstreaming into Thailand and what are the approaches adopted by policy actors to locate this notion into their institutional settings? ", the vital impetus of the transfer of gender mainstreaming into Thailand was related to the interconnection of the bi-directional factors both external and internal. The pressure from international norms and agreements including from CEDAW and the BDPA showed that a powerful external factor steered the Thai government towards engaging in the movement of gender mainstreaming. Internal factors including Thailand's need to respond to socio-economic change, for example, the occurrence of gender inequality and increasing economic productivity, also drove policy actors to search for a policy to tackle these changes. However, the engagement of the Thai government occurred through an interpretative process led by the NWM and the OCSC bureaucrats, in which they evaluated these factors, determined the requirements, and made a judgement as to how to introduce gender mainstreaming into Thai policy. This interpretive process illustrates policy as translation in which policy is operated under interconnected social, economic and political aspects in the Thai setting in conjunction with the influence from the international scale.

Gender mainstreaming was introduced into the Thai national setting by establishing the national mechanisms and formulating national policy on gender mainstreaming through a mixture of approaches. These approaches included adopting UN gender mainstreaming as an initial convention, drawing upon an example from a specific country, and merging experience and practices from various countries. The approaches reflect the forms of policy transfer including emulation, inspiration, and combination respectively. The mixture of approaches used demonstrates that the Thai government did not simply mimic the UN gender mainstreaming into their context. Instead, the Thai bureaucrats applied a mixture of various approaches and morphed the UN gender mainstreaming to establish their own national policy. The non-direct copying approach reflects policy as translation in which policy is 'bended and blended' when it travels from one context to another across spaces and scales (Clarke et al., 2015).

In contrast, in locating gender mainstreaming within the Thai settings, from national to implementation scales, the Thai policy actors, the NWM and the OCSC, perceived policy as an object, an idea which carried an assumption that policy could be universally applied to within all Thai institutional settings. This perception was demonstrated by the use of vertical coercive transfer approaches including the use of policy directive documents, command and control, and a universal pattern to direct all implementation institutions to integrate a gender perspective into practice. Due to the transformation of the power relations between the NWM and other departments and ministries, the NWM was driven to occasionally engage the GFPs through a horizontal approach by offering awards and signing bilateral agreement to seek collaboration from the departments and ministries without using force.

However, both vertical and horizontal approaches resulted in the disjuncture between the written policy and practice. Many examples of illusion and unrealistic policy and report writing by the GFPs were revealed in this study. The GFPs only wrote and submitted a policy or a report to the NWM to fulfil the requirement of the national policy without being concerned of its realistic implementation. This practice demonstrates that the written documents could not guarantee actual implementation. Another example is that the use of universal trainings and guidelines for all GFPs resulted in the GFPs not being able to integrate a gender perspective into their routine

work and tending to withdraw from the training sessions. The findings indicated how the national actors' lack of sensitivity to the diversity of the background of individual GFP officials and the dissimilar institutional settings of departments and ministries where GFPs were located. These examples explained why gender mainstreaming was disjuncture rather than being embedded in the Thai institutions.

In summary, this study argues that gender mainstreaming is not a universal complete object which is straightforwardly moved through the use of top-down and the universal design. To preclude the potential risk of the disembedding of gender mainstreaming in practice, the movement of policy should be perceived as translation by observing how policy is implemented and recognising the gaps between performativity and performance. Furthermore, this study indicates the need to bring a postcolonial feminism perspective on diversity to the movement approaches to gender mainstreaming. The "carriers" of gender mainstreaming should be aware of the non-homogeneous, unique and diverse receiving systems whenever policy is moved across or within national settings.

9.1.4 Non-passive recipients of the policy in the new setting

As regards Research Question 4, "what are the challenges to embedding gender mainstreaming into the Thai institutions ?", the main obstacles found in this study were inflexible policy documents, bureaucratic institutional arrangements, a lack of political will and leadership of staff, the confused and contested conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming, and the predominance of patriarchy in the Thai institutions. These impediments reflect the 'cognitive and environmental obstacles' of policy transfer.

The conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming by policy actors reflects the 'cognitive obstacle'. However, as opposed to a policy transfer perspective, this study argues that policy is an unfinished process in which the cognitive problem could arise at any stage of policy movement, not only during the pre-decision phase. In this study, the obstacle related to conceptual confusion was involved with uncertainty, disagreement and contestation of the meanings of gender mainstreaming and gender equality. Insufficient understanding from the NWM and GFP bureaucrats on how to

implement the concept of gender mainstreaming also deterred the integration of gender perspectives into Thai institutional settings. Additionally, feminism was separated from the notion of gender mainstreaming as the Thai policy actors, particularly bureaucrats labelled feminism as an opposition to gender mainstreaming. Thus, the transformative agenda of gender mainstreaming which is the highest goal of postcolonial feminists was ignored in the conceptualisation of Thai gender mainstreaming. Moreover, a tension in balancing the implementation of gender mainstreaming between women's issues and LGBTI issues emerged. The conceptual obstacles leave a question as to how to balance the implementation of gender mainstreaming to inclusively respond to the intricacy and the diversity of gender inequality in Thai society.

Environmental obstacles were related to the written policy documents not responding to the change of institutional structures and the fluidity of gender issues; this problem opened up an uncertainty for the policy actors in practice. Furthermore, the construction of the spaces and scales of the bureaucratic structures of gender mainstreaming mechanisms hindered its implementation. This issue was illustrated by the establishment of the new NWM (OWF/DWF), which generated the multi-layered hierarchy that created less flexibility in the implementation process. The distribution work due to the construction of gender units placed a limiting boundary line of gender mainstreaming responsibility on only these units, and onto the junior and middle staff who had less impact on policy making decisions. The contested goals and mandates of organisations also resulted in gender mainstreaming being treated as a low priority issue. Moreover, a lack of political will amongst the policy actors, especially amongst executives, was one of the common hindrances to the movement process, and took the shape of, for example, disapproval of gender mainstreaming projects or not being able to provide suggestions. More importantly, this study found that the deep-seated cause of all obstacles was the predominance of patriarchy embedded within Thai institutions. Patriarchy controlled and entrenched the way in which the gender mainstreaming mechanisms were constructed and arranged; the policy documents were shaped; and the policy actors perceived and implemented the notion of gender mainstreaming. These obstacles, emanating from patriarchal norms, illustrate that the social, political, and organisational contexts surrounding the Thai institutions are

interconnected and profoundly influence the embedding process of gender mainstreaming.

These challenges illustrate that Thailand as a new setting for gender mainstreaming was not a passive recipient, but is a unique surrounded by particular political, social, and cultural aspects. This study highlights a need to be conscious of non-homogeneity and diversity in a new setting whenever "universal" gender mainstreaming travels across national, or within national contexts. This need echoes a key conceptual understanding of policy translation, which argues that policy is not free-floating, as well as the view of postcolonial feminism regarding the non-homogeneous and diverse contexts of gender construction.

To conclude, this thesis has demonstrated a non-linear process and multi-scalar connectivity of the movement of the 'universal' gender mainstreaming policy into Thailand. It has explained aspects of the transferability and non-transferability of the notion of gender mainstreaming. What could be transferred was the assumed consensus around policy structures, goals, strategies and content. What could not be transferred was the supposed consensus around an understanding of policy and practice; in fact far from agreed. The non-transferability illustrates policy as translation which is contingent and complex. The contingency and complexity included policy as multifaceted layers of explicit and implicit meanings held by policy actors; the multiple and multi-scales of policy actors; policy as an unfinished process which was operated under interpretation, negotiation, reinterpretation, and transformation throughout its movement; and the destination settings as active recipients. Furthermore, the movement of gender mainstreaming has illustrated that it functioned under a hegemonic construction of the power dynamics, in particular the Global North over the Global South in the production of knowledge, as well as in some cases also in relation to the enforcement of implementation. It has further demonstrated that the movement of gender mainstreaming was less attuned to the uniqueness of social, political, and cultural diversity as well as the gender hierarchy embedded in the new settings. These factors provided reasons for the unsettling, disjuncture, and disembedding of gender mainstreaming in Thailand and remain far-reaching in their

impact on Thai institutions being able to bring about transformative change to gender inequality on the ground

9.2 Way forwards: Translating gender mainstreaming into a new setting for transformative change

As this study has argued, the movement of "universal" gender mainstreaming into Thailand is not a linear process. Therefore, it is necessary to perceive the movement of gender mainstreaming through the postcolonial feminist and policy translation perspectives to understand the multifaceted, multi-site and multi-scalar nature of policy in motion. From the postcolonial feminist perspective, the notion of the 'universality' of gender mainstreaming should be critically reassessed. This thesis has demonstrated that there is no 'quick-fix' or homogeneous solution for gender inequality which can be immediately applied to all diverse settings. It is essential to be aware of the diversity and complexity of the intersectionality of gender inequality issues in a particular context. Furthermore, policy analysts and actors must be sensitised to the power of specific patriarchal norms in a specific context as well as the asymmetric power relations between the Global North and the Global South which influence policy and practice of gender mainstreaming. Regarding policy translation, the travel of policy should be perceived as an unfinished and continuous process by paying attention to policy as meaning-making which is pluralistic, evolving and complex. Also, how the linguistic aspect and politics of translation play a part in policy meaning and how these impact on implementation needs to be assessed. Furthermore, being concerned with the multiple policy actors at multi-scales and their power relations under hierarchies and institutional structures should be brought into focus in the analysis of the movement of gender mainstreaming. Additionally, perceiving new settings as non-passive recipients is vital. This is because the new settings interact with a policy in motion by interpreting, negotiating, evaluating, making a judgement, and transforming a policy, processing it within their surrounding political, social, economic, and cultural contexts.

This study suggests three key theoretical reflection for embedding gender mainstreaming into Thailand which could be of benefit in a broader context. These include de/re-conceptualisation through a policy discourse approach; an engagement of wide-

ranging and multi-scalar policy actors through multiple actor collaboration; and sensitivity to particularity and diversity through a bottom-up approach, as detailed below.

9.2.1 De/re-conceptualisation through a policy discourse approach

To minimise policy actors' conceptual confusion and diminish uncertainty in policy practice, the de/re-conceptualisation would address the ways in which gender mainstreaming is understood, how it is framed and implemented in a local context, especially how it relates to responses to gender inequality in Thailand. Importantly, the de/re-conceptualisation could be implemented through a policy discourse approach. This must be based on an understanding that policy is a production of a series of communications, not from its input, which are involved with germination, not dissemination (Freeman, 2004; Lendvai and Stubbs, 2007). Key aspects to be considered for the de/re-conceptualisation of the notion of gender mainstreaming include de/re-assessing the meanings of gender equality; expanding the gender mainstreaming strategy; and establishing agreed Thai terminologies.

The meaning of gender equality, which is the goal of gender mainstreaming, should be revisited. This could be de/re-conceptualised by taking a stance of postcolonial feminism concerning its complexity and the diversity of the lived experience of gender inequalities in Thailand. It would be beneficial to the discourse to consider how the intersections of gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexualities, and physical disability cause the diverse and particular forms of gender inequalities in wide-range of specific groups in society. Lombardo et al.'s suggestion (2010) would provide an insight to reviewing complex and diverse gender inequalities. They suggest examining how existing meanings of gender equality and intersections of inequalities interact, clash, or disagree to find a mutual construction of a 'web of meaning' (Ferree, 2009:90). This 'web of meaning' could help to clarify how gender inequality is understood and treated in a specific context to reduce confusion and tensions over complexity and the diversity of gender inequalities in society, and over what gender mainstreaming strives to achieve.

It would be also of benefit to reconsider the introduction of the Thai gender mainstreaming strategy and practice as a bureaucratic process through simply adding gender dimensions into the policy process. Instead, gender mainstreaming should be perceived as a transformative process by focusing on the way it could facilitate revolutionary changes in society. As such, gender mainstreaming would address structural inequality by discussing how the construction of patriarchal structures and norms has oppressed people's daily lives, especially those who are left at the periphery of the society. Furthermore, how to advance the rights of persons and groups who are subjected to patriarchal norms needs to be taken into consideration. That is, the gender mainstreaming strategy would be de/re-conceptualised by integrating various interpretations of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, which have emerged from this study. Strategies for gender mainstreaming could be built up from a complement of approaches for guaranteeing sameness of rights and opportunities, focusing on the specific needs of individuals, and targeting both individual and structural inequality. These strategies would be implemented through a mixture of processes ranging from integrating a gender perspective into existing policy process, bringing in the particular voices of those who are oppressed by gender hierarchy, and engaging wider policy actors and public to the transformative process. These multiple approaches and processes would expand simple bureaucratic gender mainstreaming to establish a transformative agenda.

Finally, this study revealed that Thai translation of gender mainstreaming and its related concepts resulted in confusion and uncertainty among policy actors. It is, therefore, vital to reassess the Thai terminologies of gender mainstreaming and its related concepts. Through a series of dialogues, the establishment of agreed Thai terminologies of gender, gender equality, and gender mainstreaming would lessen confusions and facilitate better communication as well as provide substantive understanding for policy actors and the wider public.

Importantly, the foundation of the de/re-conceptualisation process should be implemented based on the fact that policy is an unfinished process. This means that the concepts and the shared meanings of policy might be agreed at a certain period of time, but these agreed concepts and meanings may be reinterpreted, contested,

renegotiated, bent, or transformed depending on the evolution and the complexity of gender inequality issues over time. Therefore, the needs to trace, revisit, and reconceptualise based on the evolving nature of policy and the involvement and interaction of policy actors is a required strategy. Furthermore, avoiding hegemonic discourse should be at the heart of the discursive process for the de/reconceptualisation. A useful strategy is 'reflexivity' (Bacchi, 2009). This strategy includes the co-operation between diverse perspectives and experience, especially of non-hegemonic groups, a concern for differences and complexity of inequality, and encounters with a wide range of disciplines (Lombardo et al., 2010). This strategy has a potential to diminish the domination of discourses and the privileging of a particular inequality over others.

9.2.2 Engaging multiple and multi-scalar policy actors through inclusive collaboration.

Multiple actors at multi-scales should be included in all gender mainstreaming processes, including the de/re-conceptualisation of policy meaning, the implementation, as well as monitoring and evaluation of gender mainstreaming. Within the bureaucratic system, expanding gender mainstreaming to reach frontline workers in regions and provinces would advance the implementation of gender mainstreaming on the ground. This is because frontline workers are the end of the hierarchy of bureaucracy and directly provide services to the public. Moreover, focusing on how to engage resistant policy actors as allies in gender mainstreaming, for instance, those organisations with strong masculine cultures, could be helpful as a starting point to transform patriarchy.

However, gender mainstreaming should not be limited to the control of bureaucratic policy agents. This is because bureaucracies are not powerful sources of social and political change (Standing, 2004). Therefore, non-bureaucratic actors who were marginalised and excluded from the movement of gender mainstreaming, for example, non-governmental organisations and women's groups, need to be engaged to enable their voices to be heard. This shift could support them in revealing their own voices and perspectives to the issues of gender inequality. Furthermore, feminist academics and activists should not be separated from the notion and the movement process of gender mainstreaming as they have the potential to serve as a bridge

between theories and practices. Woodward (2003b) emphasises that the development of gender mainstreaming crucially requires a 'velvet triangle' engagement of actors, including female bureaucrats, academics, and an organised voice of a women's movement. The inclusion of multiple and multi-scalar policy actors would also enable the process of rebalancing the asymmetric power among policy actors.

Moreover, at the international scale, Thailand as an ASEAN member could support the role of the organisation and its bodies to becoming involved in gender mainstreaming, for example, by raising an agenda on gender mainstreaming in ASEAN thematic areas and pillars, and initiating a systematic monitoring role for its bodies. Furthermore, while interacting with the transnational policy actors, the Thai government should be aware of the influence of the supremacy of the Global North on the Global South. This study shows that only in a certain period, the representatives of the Thai government could negotiate in the international arena and push forward Thailand's agenda. To increase their negotiation power and to regain the balance of the power between the Global North and Global South, the preparation process for the Thai officials to develop their skills and knowledge, and the engagement of other policy actors in participating in international arena, therefore, need to be considered by the Thai authority. Additionally, in accepting assistance from international agencies, the government must be cautious that this will not create a new form of colonisation over policy and practice.

To engage multiple policy actors into the inclusive collaboration, the principles of openness, inclusiveness, transparency, and non-hegemonic power relations, would facilitate the engagement of wide-ranging policy agents into the movement of gender mainstreaming process. One possible practical way is the use of 'deliberative mechanisms', such as citizens' forums (Squires, 2005: 365); this mechanism could enhance the inclusive collaboration of multiple and multi-scalar policy actors.

9.2.3 Sensitivity to the particularity and the diversity of new settings through a bottom-up approach

As this study has illustrated that gender mainstreaming in motion is not universal, this accentuates the consideration of the need to recognise and be sensitised to the

diversity and particularity of new institutional contexts. Working with various institutional contexts, it is essential to understand the individual experiences and backgrounds of policy agents as well as the political and cultural factors entrenched in institutions, for example in this study are in the GFPs. Therefore, the movement of gender mainstreaming should not be treated as universal, but the meanings, purposes, processes and policies would originate from lived experience, not from top-down policy from the central government or using the identical patterns of practice for all.

A bottom-up approach would be useful for recognising the various forms of gender inequalities and accommodating these diverse natures of institutions as opposed to control and command or universal designed by the NWM. Each agency could have dialogues with their target groups or service users discussing the goals, strategies, and expected outcomes of gender mainstreaming within their organisational mandates, to connect, balance, and prioritise addressing the multiple forms of gender inequalities. Such dialogues would establish an agreed direction of practice among policy actors within each agency. Nevertheless, it is vital to bear in mind that the agreed direction should be established and adjusted over time in response to the complexity of gender inequality issues, such as focusing on violence against women, the under representation of women in politics and decision making, job discrimination against sexual orientation and gender identity, equal rights for parental leave, and the legalisation of civil partnerships. This awareness could help to balance and identify priorities for policy implementation to lessen the conflict of mandates and respond to multifaceted gender inequality on the ground. Furthermore, the agreed direction would address and respond to the constant changes in organisations, for example, the variance of budget, rotation of staff, and changing authority in each institution.

9.3 Contributions of this study

This study is innovative on a number of fronts. The contributions to existing knowledge can be justified based on theoretical and subject knowledge, as outlined below.

Regarding the contribution to theory, the study has brought a feminist perspective into the policy analysis study which has been traditionally constructed by androcentrism

(Hawkesworth, 1994; McPhail, 2003). This study also empirically exemplifies how to combine approaches from distinct epistemologies as complementary to investigate how the so-called "universal" gender mainstreaming travels across scales, spaces, and languages. These approaches include the integration of a feminist approach: postcolonial feminism from a transformative philosophical worldview; a conventional policy analysis: policy transfer stemmed from positivism; and a non-traditional policy study: policy translation, rooted in constructivism. As an overarching conceptual framework, the study has illustrated the value of postcolonial feminism when examining the journey of global gender mainstreaming with a consciousness of the hegemonic power of the Global North over the Global South, intersectionality, and marginality, as well as the diversity of gender hierarchy and inequality. Moreover, the benefit of policy transfer, as a starting analytical tool applying to describe the movement process of gender mainstreaming policy into Thailand regarding who, what, where, why, and how, has been demonstrated. Furthermore, this study has illustrated the advantages of the policy translation approach in providing a more in-depth and nuanced comprehension of the multifaceted, dynamic, and unfinished nature of policy movement through the focus on policy as meaning; performativity and practice; as well as considering the effects of scales, spaces and temporal dimensions. By integrating these distinct epistemological approaches to investigate the movement of gender mainstreaming, this thesis epitomises the evidenced argument that this tripartite analytical framework is compatible and moves debates forward in providing a fuller explanation of policy movement by advancing the knowledge of the movement of gender mainstreaming.

This thesis also contributes to feminist approaches by using a postcolonial feminist standpoint to investigate gender mainstreaming as so generate knowledge from the margins of the mainstream feminist knowledge. This is because most widespread acknowledgement and documentation of the feminist version tend to be associated with 'well off, well-educated and white' people (Sa'ar, 2005: 686). Based on the postcolonial feminist perspective, this study was conducted through my perspective and standpoint as a Thai researcher to bring the peripheral voice to examine and explain the movement of "global" gender mainstreaming, which was constituted under the Western institutional power base, using English as a medium to

"universally" communicate, into Thailand, a non-Western and non-English speaking country.

As regards the subject contribution, this thesis has filled gaps in the literature on gender mainstreaming regarding geographical areas. The research relating to gender mainstreaming policies has mostly been carried out in an EU context, while little research has been carried out in Asia or Southeast Asia. Furthermore, as suggested by the literature review, most studies of gender mainstreaming, especially in Thailand, has been under-explored and have tended to disregard the continuous process of the movement of gender mainstreaming and the interconnectivity of international-national-implementation scales. The current debates also focus solely on a specific process of gender mainstreaming, for example, the implementation within the national or specific organisational contexts. This thesis provides an innovative conceptual framework for the investigation of gender mainstreaming as a continuous and multi-scalar process which includes how policy is constructed, moved, interpreted, reinterpreted, transformed, implemented, and disconnected into and within the Thai context. Lucid theoretical reflection for implementation has also been provided for further development of the embedment of gender mainstreaming.

9.4 Limitations of this study

This study is a qualitative piece of research, which by its methodological nature is limited in the generalisation of its findings due to the small number of participants (Punch, 1994; Bryman, 2008). The individual representative voice of the policy actors from the different scales, for example, international organisations, government agencies, independent and non-governmental organisations, and the four selected GFPs, cannot be generalised because of the small number of respondents. However, the small number traded off with gaining an in-depth explanation of the movement of gender mainstreaming from multiple scalar documentations and policy actors' perspectives, which serves the aim of this study.

Another limitation is that this study was designed to cover the extended period, from 1995, the adoption year of the BDPA, to 2017, the end time for the data collection.

The perspectives and experience of each of the respondents might not cover this lengthy period of time because each individual interviewee might have a limited perspective depending on the period of their involvement in gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, due to the fact that Thailand's NWM had been restructured and relocated since 1995 to various sites, this caused a loss of documentation, for example, annual reports from GFPs, and some NWM reports to the UN. However, this study attempted to lessen this limitation as far as possible. The methods included the triangulation of data collection by using more than one data collection method; using multi-scalar sources from international, national, and implementation documents and interviewees; and adopting the purposive sampling to recruit different types of policy actors to gain the data so as to be able to explain the movement of gender mainstreaming in Thailand covering such extended period.

Some might consider that focusing on English and Thai language documents could be a limitation of this study, as information from relevant documents published in other languages was limited. However, as this study focuses on explaining the movement of gender mainstreaming specifically in the Thai context, English and Thai documents would significantly complement each other to produce and enrich knowledge on this topic.

9.5 Recommendations for future studies

Drawing from the insights of this study, potential areas for future studies could be suggested:

A study to investigate the perspectives towards gender mainstreaming of specific policy actors, especially those who have been under-explored, would be relevant and contribute to a more robust understanding of the development of the embedding of gender mainstreaming policies and practice. These specific policy actors could be policy agents who were marginalised, for example, NGOs, and/or those who were resistant to getting involved, such as organisations with high masculine cultures, and/or those who were excluded, such as frontline workers, and/or those who are absent, for instance, politicians, and political parties.

Studying with different methods, for example, ethnography and discourse analysis, might help to trace the movement of gender mainstreaming within the national context. This could be done by emphasising a specific policy and an area of gender mainstreaming, for example, gender responsive budgeting in a specific organisation or a comparative study of two organisations. This might further provide a more comprehensive understanding of how a specific agency forms, interprets, constructs, morphs, utilises, and delivers services to the public by adopting a particular gender mainstreaming policy.

Further investigations into the movement of gender mainstreaming in a non-Western context, especially in Southeast Asian countries, would provide a fuller picture of the movement of gender mainstreaming within a specific geographical integration. It would also increase opportunities for generating a comparative study with other contexts, for example in European or African settings. This could bring evidence of lived experience in distinct geographical locations and further clarify what actually happens during the movement of this "universal" gender mainstreaming policy. This multi-scalar and sites explanation might contribute to the development of a more operationally effective this "global" gender mainstreaming strategy.

Finally, further studies could be conducted by adopting the tripartite analytical framework of this study to examine the movement of other transnational policies, for example, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), or specific international treaties such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) by focusing on a particular article, for example, Article 4 on a special measure and Article 11 on employment. This investigation would help to advance an understanding of how the Thai government transfers and translates these transnational policies or international treaties and what challenges underlie the movement of these policies or treaties; this might further advance knowledge of policy movement studies.

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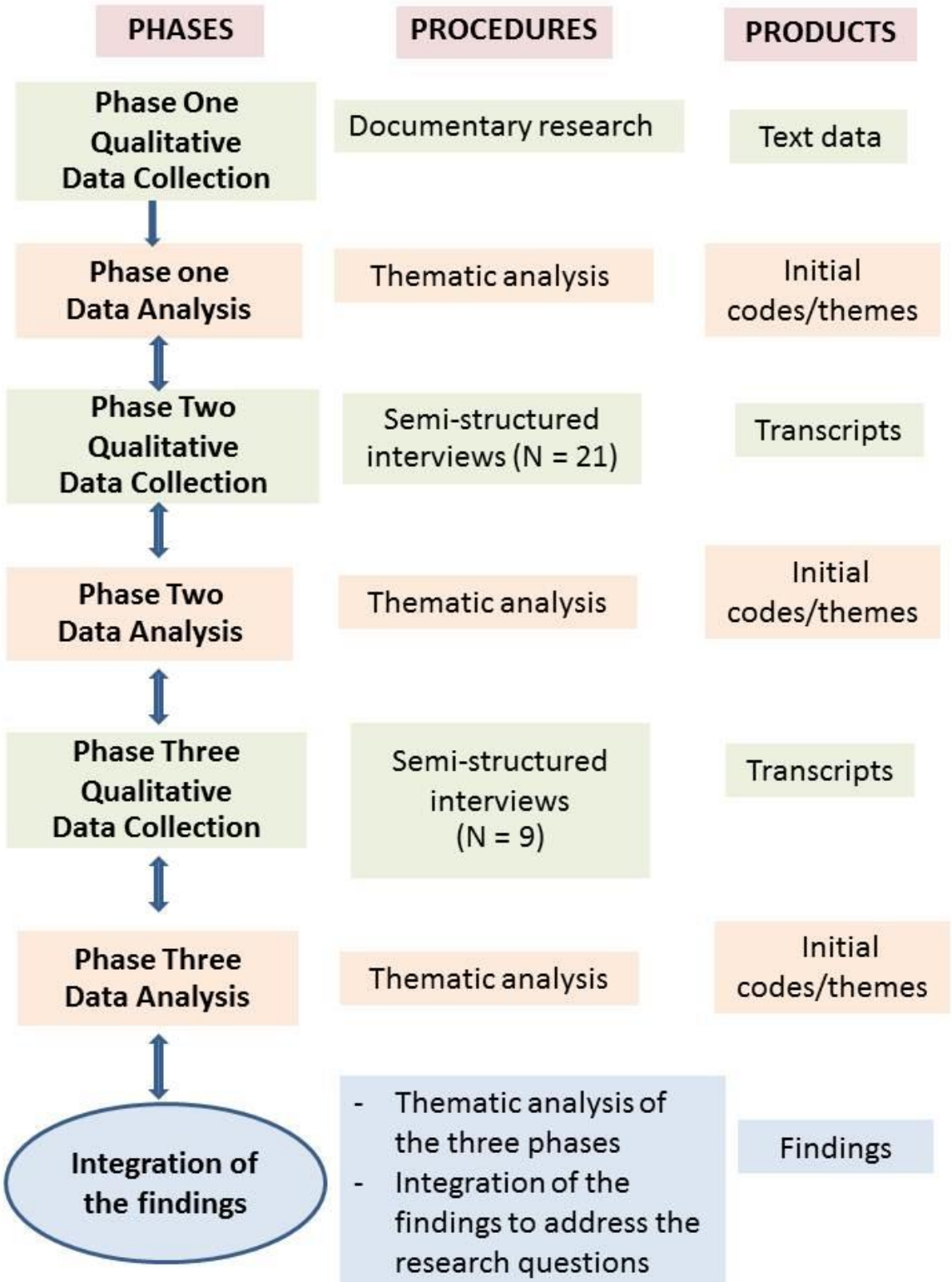
Appendix 1 Research design diagram



Appendix 2 Criteria for the selection of the documents

Multiscale policy movement	Criteria
Official documents	
International scale	1) The UN documents regarding gender mainstreaming, for example, declarations, agreed conclusions, guidelines, and handbooks, from the ECOSOC, where gender mainstreaming was adopted, and from UN Women and its previous agencies for gender mainstreaming. 2) The ASEAN documents relating to gender mainstreaming in ASEAN pillars, particularly in ASCC pillar (ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community), where the issue of gender equality and women's empowerment is situated in. 3) Statements by the UN and ASEAN executives at director level and above. 4) Search terms "gender mainstreaming" " integrating a gender perspective" " strategy to achieve gender equality" 5) The period covers after the adoption BDPA up to 2017.
National scale	1) Official policies related to gender mainstreaming. 2) Handbooks and guidelines of the Thai government on gender mainstreaming. 3) Statements of the Thai Government by Director-general level and above, addressing the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), which is the annual conference on the follow-up of gender mainstreaming and the BDPA 4) Thailand's reports to the UN on the implementation of the BDPA and the annual report and minutes of the NWM on the implementation of gender mainstreaming. 5) Search terms " gender mainstreaming" or in Thai languages ""บทบาทหญิงชายในการพัฒนากระแสหลัก" [literal translation as the roles of women and men in the mainstream development]; "การสร้างกระแสความเสมอภาค" [literal translation as mainstreaming of equality]; "การบูรณาการมิติหญิงชาย" [literal translation as the integration of the dimensions of women and men]; "การบูรณาการมิติความเสมอภาคทางเพศ" [literal translation as the integration of dimensions of equality of the sexes]

Multiscale policy movement	Criteria
	6) The period covers after the adoption BDPA up to 2017.
Implementation scale	1) Plans, reports, and meetings minutes, handbooks by GFPs regarding gender mainstreaming. 2) Search terms " gender mainstreaming" or in the Thai language ""บทบาทหญิงชายในการพัฒนากระแสหลัก" [literal translation as the roles of women and men in the mainstream development]; "การสร้างกระแสความเสมอภาค" [literal translation as mainstreaming of equality]; "การบูรณาการมิติหญิงชาย" [literal translation as the integration of the dimensions of women and men]; "การบูรณาการมิติความเสมอภาคทางเพศ" [literal translation as the integration of dimensions of equality of the sexes] 3) The period covers since the establishment of GFPs in 2001 to 2017
Non-official documents	
Reports from NGOs and independent agencies about gender mainstreaming	1) The international and national non-governmental organisations' reports related to gender mainstreaming in Thailand 2) Search terms "gender mainstreaming" " integrating a gender perspective" " strategy to achieve gender equality" 3) The period covers after the adoption of BDPA to 2017

Appendix 3 List of the selected documents for analysis

No	Title	Years	Authors	Types of documents	Pages	Data Code
International scale (12 documents 337 pages)						
1.	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action	1995	Economic and Social Council, United Nations (ECOSOC)	Declaration	187	ECOSOC-1995
2.	Statement of the Secretary-General of the 4th World Conference on Women at the Formal Opening of the Plenary Session	4th September 1995	Secretary General	Statement	3	SG-1995
3.	Economic and Social Council Agreed Conclusions 1997/2	18th September 1997	ECOSOC	Agreed Conclusion	12	ECOSOC-1997
4.	Fact Sheet 1: Gender Mainstreaming: Strategy for Promoting Gender Equality	2001	Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI)	Guideline	2	OSAGI-2001a
5.	Fact Sheet 2: Important Concepts Underlying Gender Mainstreaming	2001	OSAGI	Guideline	2	OSAGI-2001b
6.	Fact Sheet 3: The Development of the Gender Mainstreaming Strategy	2001	OSAGI	Guideline	2	OSAGI-2001c
7.	Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview	2002	OSAGI	Handbook	29	OSAGI-2002
8.	Guidance Note on Gender mainstreaming in Development Programming	2014	UN Women	Guidance	55	UNWomen-2014

No	Title	Years	Authors	Types of documents	Pages	Data Code
9.	Joint statement of the ASEAN High-Level Meeting on Good Practices in CEDAW Reporting and Follow-up	14- 15 January 2008	ASEAN	Statement	2	ASEAN-2008
10.	ASEAN Committee on Women (ACW) Work Plan (2011–2015)	2011	ASEAN Committee on Women (ACW)	Work Plan	32	ACW-2011
11.	ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) Work Plan (2012–2016)	2012	ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC)	Work Plan	8	ACWC-2012
12.	ASEAN Declaration on the Gender-Responsive Implementation of the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and Sustainable Development Goals	2017	ASEAN	Declaration	3	ASEAN-2017
National Documents Related to Gender Mainstreaming (19 documents 578 pages)						
1.	Statement by Minister to the Prime Minister's Office, Vice-Chairperson of Thailand's National Commission on Women's Affairs, Head of the Delegations of Thailand to the Fourth World Conference on Women	1995	Minister to the Prime Minister's Office	Statement	3	MTPM-1995
2.	The Circular Letter No นร 0708.1/ ว 7, Dated 18 September 2000 on Guideline on the Promotion and the Establishment of Equality between Women and Men	2000	Office of Civil Services Commission (OCSC)	Regulation	1	OCSC-2000

No	Title	Years	Authors	Types of documents	Pages	Data Code
3.	The Cabinet Resolution dated 31 July 2001 on the Implementation on the Promotion of Equality between Women and Men	2001	The Secretariat of the Cabinet	Cabinet Resolution	3	SoC-2001
4.	The Circular Letter No. 0708/ว3, Dated 11 April 2002 on the Qualifications of Chief Gender Equality Officer (CGEO) and Gender Focal Points (GFPs)	April 2002	OCSC	Regulation	2	OCSC-2002
5.	Handbook for the Promotion of Equality between Women and Men in Government Sectors	1st edition 2003 5th edition 2006	OCSC and Office of women's Affairs and Family Development (OWF)	Handbook	52	OCSC-OWF-2003
6.	Handbook for Gender Analysis	December 2004 Reprint August 2007	OWF	Handbook	52	OWF-2004
7.	Handbook for Gender Mainstreaming	February 2005 Reprint August 2007	OWF	Handbook	40	OWF-2005
8.	The Statement of the Minister for Social Development and Human Security on Roles of Chief Gender Equality Officers in Gender Equality Promotion	2006	Minister for Social Development and Human Security	Statement	3	MSOC-2006
9.	The Promotion of Gender Equality in Civil Service Agencies	2010	OWF	Report	35	OWF-2010a

No	Title	Years	Authors	Types of documents	Pages	Data Code
10.	Handbook for Chief Gender Equality Officer (CGEO)	2010	OWF	Handbook	17	OWF-2010b
11.	Handbook for the Master Plan on the Establishment of Equality between Women and Men	2012	OWF	Handbook	48	OWF-2012
12.	Master Plan on Gender Equality Promotion	2013	Compilation by OWF	Document for GFP training	21	OWF-2013
13.	Cabinet Resolution dated 31 March 2015 on the Restructuring of the Mechanisms on the Implementation of Chief Gender Equality Officer (CGEO)	2015	The Secretariat of the Cabinet	Cabinet Resolution	1	SoC-2015
14.	Seminar Documents on the Development of Machinery on Gender Equality Promotion in Civil Services: "Policy Implementation towards Reduce Disparity and Equitable Society"	2016	Department of Women's Affairs and Family Development (DWF)	Document for CGEO meeting	83	DWF-2016
15.	The Statement of the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry Social Development and Human Security at the Seminar on the Development of Machinery on Gender Equality Promotion in Civil Services: "Policy Implementation towards Reduce Disparity and Equitable Society"	2016	Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security	Statement	3	PSMSOC-2016

No	Title	Years	Authors	Types of documents	Pages	Data Code
16.	Thailand's Reply to the Questionnaire on the Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action to be Submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations	1999	The Royal Thai Government (RTG)	Country Report	118	RTG-1999
17.	Thailand's Reply to Questionnaire to Governments on Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the Outcome of the Twenty- Third Special Session of the General Assembly (2000)	2004	RTG	Country Report	24	RTG-2004
18.	Thailand's Reply to Questionnaire to Governments on Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the Outcome of the Twenty- Third Special Session of the General Assembly (2000)	2010	RTG	Country Report	20	RTG-2010
19.	The Government of Thailand's National Review: Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) and the outcomes of the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly (2000)	2014	RTG	Country report	52	RTG-2014
Implementation Scale (7 documents – 306 pages)						
1.	The Report to Review the Formulation of a Master Plan on Gender Equality Promotion	2011	OWF	Report	66	LOWF-2011
2.	The Summary Report of the Master Plans on Gender Equality Promotion (2012 – 2016)	2016	DWF	Report	113	LDWF-2016
3.	The Summary Report of the Implementation of Gender Equality Promotion 2006	2006	OWF	Report	93	LOWF-2006

No	Title	Years	Authors	Types of documents	Pages	Data Code
4.	The Report on the Implementation on Gender Equality Promotion	2001 – 2003	An awarded GFP	Report	10	LGFP1-2001-2003
5.	The Report on the Implementation on Gender Equality Promotion	2014 – 2015	An awarded GFP	Summary Report	4	LGFP2-2014-2015
6.	The Report on the Implementation on Gender Equality Promotion	2013 - 2015	An awarded GFP	Report	8	LGFP3-2013-2015
7.	The Implementation of the Gender Focal Point	2013 - 2015	An non-awarded GFP	Report	12	LGFP4-2013-2015
Total 38 documents					**1,221**	

Appendix 4 Revision of topic guide after the pilot interviews

Topic guide

A. Introduction

- Providing general information of the research
- Informing about ethical issues
- Requesting the interviewees to sign the consent form

B. General information of the interviewees

- Checking personal information, for example, job title, position, duration of work
- Asking general questions about the involvement of gender mainstreaming policy
  - How long have you involved/ How long did you involve with gender mainstreaming?
  - In what aspects that you are involved with?

C. Setting-questions

Topics	**Pilot Interview questions**	**Revised questions after the pilot interviews**
Understanding of gender mainstreaming	1.1 What do you understand by gender, gender equality and gender mainstreaming?	-
	1.2 In your view, what does UN gender mainstreaming mean?	-
	1.3 What do you think how and when the idea of gender mainstreaming formed in Thailand?	Merged the question no. 1.3 and 1.4 In your view, what are reasons and when that gender mainstreaming policy has formed in Thailand?
	1.4 In your view, what are reasons that gender mainstreaming policy has formed in Thailand?	
	1.5 To what extent the idea of gender mainstreaming policy in Thailand is similar to or different from the UN gender mainstreaming?	-

Topics	Pilot Interview questions	Revised questions after the pilot interviews
Actors involving the movement process of gender mainstreaming	2.1 Who or what agencies do you think were involved in the formation this policy (Cabinet Resolution on 31st July 2001) ? - status of the persons/agencies	
	2.2 Who/what mechanisms are the most active in the formation and implementation of this policy?	-
	2.3 Who/ what mechanisms are responsible for the implementation of this policy?	-
Approaches and Impacts of the movement of gender mainstreaming	3.1 How has this policy formulated? - approaches for the transfer of gender mainstreaming policy - tools of the transfer of gender mainstreaming policy	How do you disseminate the idea of gender mainstreaming? (approaches and tools)
	3.2 What has been changed after the policy was formulated?: Structure and working methods	-
Facilitators and Constraints of the movement process	4.1 In your perspective, what supports the movement of gender mainstreaming policy in Thailand?	In your perspective, what support the dissemination and implementation of gender mainstreaming?
	4.2 What do you think that impedes the movement of gender mainstreaming policy in Thailand?	In your view, what are obstacles in disseminating and implementing of gender mainstreaming?
	4.3 What are facilitators for the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy in Thailand	This question is repetitive
	4.4 What are obstacles of the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy in Thailand?	This question is repetitive
Challenges of the movement process	5.1 In your opinion, what are challenges in the transmission of this policy?	-

Topics	Pilot Interview questions	Revised questions after the pilot interviews
	5.2 In your opinion, what are challenges in the implementation of this policy?	-
	5.3 To what extend the UN mainstreaming policy fits within Thailand's context and why?	-
Recommendations for further development of the gender mainstreaming policy	6.1 What are your recommendations for advancing the movement of gender mainstreaming policy in Thailand? - Who should be responsible for it? - How should the policy be implemented? - What will support the implementation of this policy?	- -

Note: The questions will be asked based on the background and the involvement of the interviewees on the gender mainstreaming strategy. For example, the policy actors in UN headquarters will not be asked a specific question about the formation or the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Thailand.

Appendix 5: Topic guide for semi-structured interviews for Phase Two

A. Introduction

- Providing general information of the research
- Informing about ethical issues
- Requesting the interviewees to sign the consent form

B. General information of the interviewees

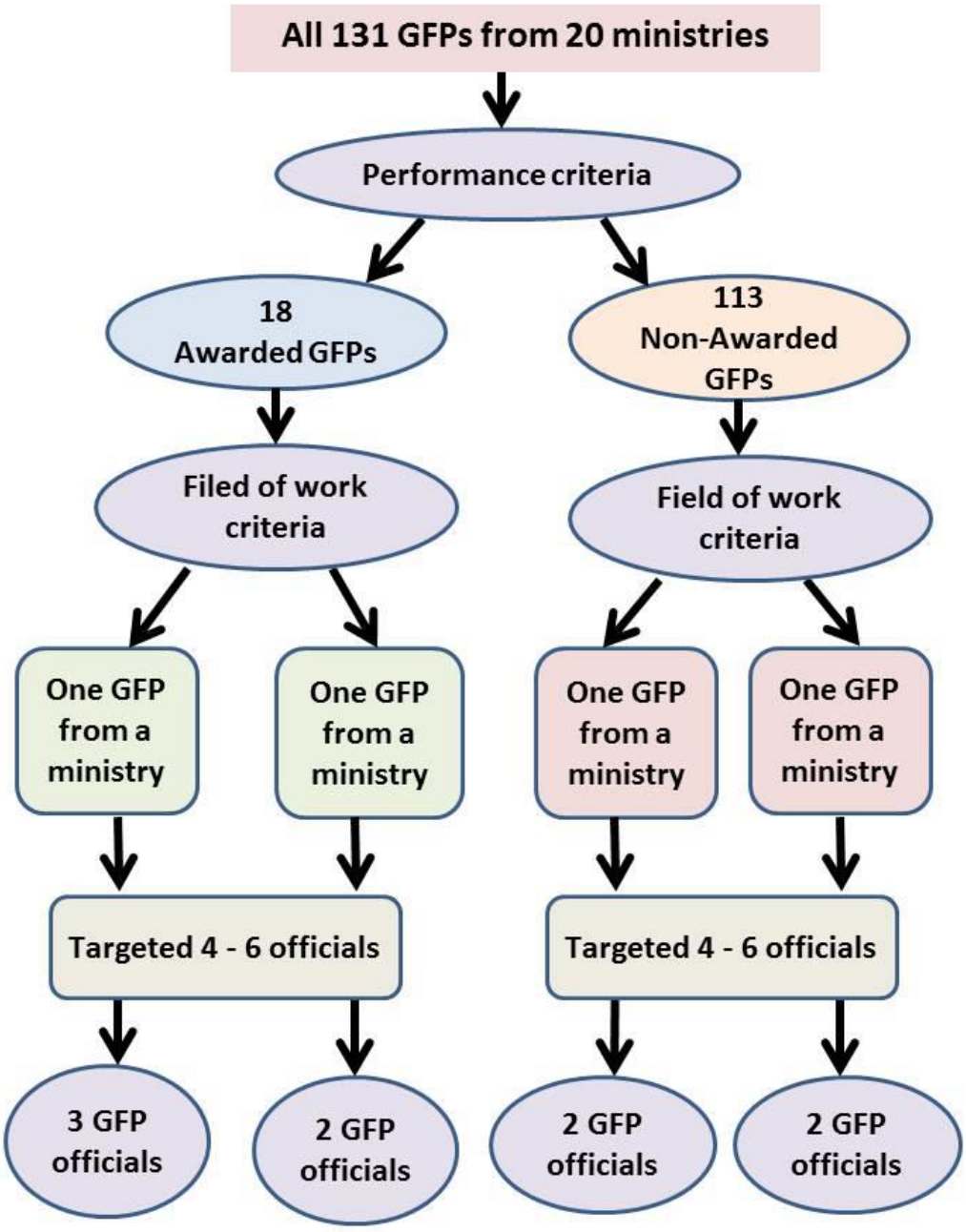
- Checking personal information, for example, job title, position, duration of work
- Asking general questions about the involvement of gender mainstreaming policy
- How long have you involved/ How long did you involve with gender mainstreaming?
- In what aspects that you are involved with?

C. **Setting-questions**

Topics	**Interview questions**	**Elements of the analytical framework**
1. Understanding of gender mainstreaming	1.1 What do you understand by gender, gender equality and gender mainstreaming?	Policy meaning
	1.2 In your view, what does UN gender mainstreaming mean?	Policy meaning
	1.3 In your view, what are reasons and when that gender mainstreaming policy has formed in Thailand?	Reasons and temporal factor
	1.4 To what extent the idea of gender mainstreaming policy in Thailand is similar to or different from the UN gender mainstreaming?	Policy meaning Power relations
2. Actors involving the movement process of gender mainstreaming	2.1 Who or what agencies do you think were involved in the formation this policy (Cabinet Resolution on 31st July 2001) ? - status of the persons/agencies	Actors Power relations

Topics	Interview questions	Elements of the analytical framework
	2.2 Who/what mechanisms are the most active in the formation and implementation of this policy?	Actors
	2.3 Who/ what mechanisms are responsible for the implementation of this policy?	Actors
3. Approaches and Impacts of the movement of gender mainstreaming	3.1 How do you disseminate the idea of gender mainstreaming? (approaches and tools)	Approaches
	3.2 What has been changed after the policy was formulated? (Structure and working methods)	Impacts
4. Facilitators and Constraints of the movement process	4.1 In your perspective, what support the dissemination and implementation of gender mainstreaming?	Facilitators
	4.2 In your view, what are obstacles in disseminating and implementing of gender mainstreaming?	Barriers
5. Challenges of the movement process	5.1 In your opinion, what are challenges in the transmission of this policy?	Impacts
	5.2 In your opinion, what are challenges in the implementation of this policy?	Impacts
	5.3 Do think the UN mainstreaming policy is fit within Thailand's context and why?	Power relations, diversity, context
6. Recommendations for further development of the gender mainstreaming policy	6.1 What are your recommendations for advancing the movement of gender mainstreaming policy in Thailand? - Who should be responsible for it? - How should the policy be implemented? - What will support the implementation of this policy?	

Appendix 6: The sampling criteria for Phase Three



Appendix 7 Topic guide for semi-structured interviews for Phase Three

A. Introduction

- Providing general information of the research
- Informing about ethical issues
- Requesting the interviewees to sign the consent form

B. General information of the interviewees

- Checking personal information, for example, job title, position, duration of work
- Asking general questions about working as CGEO or GFP.
    - What is your position in GFP?
    - How long have you involved/ How long did you involve with gender mainstreaming?
    - How do you work for GFP? Voluntary/Appointment
- Asking about GFP characteristics
    - Structure of GFP – Head of GFP, numbers of staff, the supervision unit

C. **Setting-questions**

Sub-research questions / Topics	**Interview questions**	**Elements of the analytical framework**
1. Understanding of gender mainstreaming	1.1 What do you understand by gender, gender equality and gender mainstreaming?	Policy meaning
	1.2 In your view, what are reasons that gender mainstreaming policy has formed in Thailand / in your organisation?	Reasons and temporal factor
2. Actors involving the movement process of gender mainstreaming	2.1 Who or what agencies do you think are involved in the formation of the gender mainstreaming policy in your organisation? - status of the persons/agencies	Actors Power relations

Sub-research questions / Topics	Interview questions	Elements of the analytical framework
	2.2 Who/ what mechanisms in your organisation are responsible for the implementation of this policy? - Roles and responsibilities of GFPs and other actors in organisation	Actors Power relations
	2.3 How does the national women's machinery (DWF) support the work of GFP?	Actors Power relations
	2.4 Are there other agencies, for example, international agencies, NGOs work with your agency on gender mainstreaming?	Actors
3. Approaches and Impacts of the movement of gender mainstreaming	3.1 How and when has the idea of gender mainstreaming been formed in your organisation?	Approaches and temporal factors
	3.2 How and where do you gain the idea of gender mainstreaming?	
	3.3 How do you disseminate the idea of gender mainstreaming in your organisation? - approaches for the transfer of gender mainstreaming policy - tools of the transfer of gender mainstreaming policy - guideline/materials	
	3.4 How has gender mainstreaming been implementing in your organisation? - Forms of policies - Implementation of programmes/ projects/activities - Reporting and monitoring in your agency	
	3.5 What has been changed after the dissemination of the idea of gender mainstreaming?	Impacts

Sub-research questions / Topics	Interview questions	Elements of the analytical framework
4. Facilitators and Constraints of the movement process	4.1 In your perspective, what support the dissemination and implementation of gender mainstreaming?	Facilitators and constraints Context
	4.2 In your view, what are obstacles in disseminating and implementing of gender mainstreaming?	
5. Challenges of the movement process	5.1 In your opinion, what are challenges in disseminating this policy?	Impact Context
	5.2 In your opinion, what are challenges in the implementation of this policy?	
6. Recommendations for further development of the gender mainstreaming policy	6.1 What are your recommendations for advancing the movement of gender mainstreaming policy in Thailand? (Recommendations for DWF, GFP, your agency) - Who should be responsible for it? - How should the policy be implemented? - What will support the implementation of this policy?	

Appendix 8 Analysis process

The first cycle of the coding captured the semantic meaning, which is the explicit meaning of the data (Clarke and Braun, 2015). For instance, the first cycle of coding was to find out the data regarding an understanding of gender mainstreaming in relation to Research Question 1, the codes were such as "increasing the number of women, granting the same rights between women and men in law, providing women specific intervention, empowering women, and guaranteeing benefits for both sexes". These codes illustrated the explicit meaning from the data, which provided an opportunity to develop the coding in the second cycle.

The second coding cycle was a more interpretative code. During the second cycle, the codes from the first cycle were reread, recoded and refined to check the consistency of the codes; this helps to enhance the trustworthiness of the coding process (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). Based on the previous example of coding in the first cycle, the second cycle was refined and recoded as "equality in quantity, equal rights and benefits, and concern for women's specific needs". Furthermore, the second coding was searching for the latent meaning, which refers to the implicit meaning that the participants are not apparently aware of (Clarke and Braun, 2015). For instance, one interviewee stated that "feminists are just demanding for women's rights, everything is just for women without caring about anything else". This sentence was coded as "negative feeling on feminism".

After the two cycles of coding, searching for candidate sub-themes and main themes was employed. In this process, the codes were refined and searched for common meaning codes and the relation between and among those codes. For instance, the codes "employing Thai terms to gain cooperation", "having own standpoint for translation of Thai terms", and "an influence of an agency on the linguistic translation" were placed under the candidate sub-themes as "politics of translation". Also, the relation between the potential sub-themes were analysed to find the core meaning of each sub-theme to build up the hierarchy of the candidate themes. For example, the sub-themes "linguistic confusion", "politics of translation", and "the supremacy of English" were put under the theme "linguistic translation problems".

A thematic map also used to visualise a relationship between candidate themes and sub-themes. However, the thematic analysis was not a linear process. During the search for themes and sub-themes, the codes were revisited and revised; the candidate themes and sub-themes were also reread, rechecked, and reviewed throughout the analysis process.

As this study was in three phases, all candidate sub-themes and themes from all phases were compared and triangulated to search for commonality, contradiction, and any relationship among the candidate themes and sub-themes. For example, the candidate sub-themes regarding "an understanding of gender equality" from Phase One (documentary research) and Phase Two and Three (interviews) were contrasted. Thus, these candidate sub-themes were revised as "diverse interpretations of the gender mainstreaming goal". Again, a thematic mapping was used to visualise the candidate sub-themes and themes, and to search for the overarching themes across the three phases. Similar to the coding, the sub-themes were also developed based on the inductive/open and deductive/theory-driven approach. One example of inductive/open sub-themes was "horizontal approach"; this sub-theme was developed from the sub-sub-themes "using bilateral agreements" and "granting an award", which were generated from the data without being driven by theories. In contrast, some themes and sub-themes were established from the deductive/theory-driven approach. For instance, the codes "selection", "apply an example of a country as a best practice" and "searching for examples from other countries" were refined as the sub-themes "emulation", "combination", and "inspiration" based on the policy transfer forms (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; Evans, 2009). All themes and sub-themes were refined, integrated, restructured and linked according to their relationships. Finally, the themes were weaved together to answer the research questions. The narrative quotes from the documents and the interviews, which were translated into English, were selected to justify the findings. During the writing up process, the themes and sub-themes were also revisited their relationships, analysed some overlapping sub-themes, and adjusted iteratively.

Appendix 9 Participation Information Sheet

Participation Information Sheet

Study: Policy Transfer and Translation: The Movement of UN Gender Mainstreaming Policy to Thailand

1. Who is conducting the research?

Perada Phumessawatdi, a Thai Royal Government-sponsored PhD student at School of Policy Studies, University of Bristol. The researcher has worked on women's human rights issues and gender equality promotion, affiliated with the Department of Women's Affairs and Family Development (DWF), Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, Thailand. This research is a part of a doctoral thesis, which is supervised by Professor Sarah Payne and Dr. Patricia Kennett, School for Policy Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences and Law, University of Bristol, United Kingdom. This research has been approved by the University of Bristol's School for Policy Studies Ethics Committee.

2. What is the purpose of the research?

The aim of the research is to examine the movement of the "universal" UN gender mainstreaming policy into a specific country context. The study seeks to explain how this policy has been interpreted, formed, transferred and translated in Thailand; identify gaps in the movement process; and suggest further development for the transfer and translation of gender mainstreaming policy. The study will examine the movement of this policy across multiple levels, which are international level, national level and implementation level.

3. What does the overall study involve?

This study consists of three phases.

- Phase one: A documentary analysis to examine the construction and the interpretation of this policy at international, national, and implementation levels.
- Phase two: An interview with policy actors, who are involved with the movement of gender mainstreaming policy at international, national and implementation levels, for example, supranational organisation staff, parliamentarians, national commissioners, civil servants at national level as well as pressure groups.
- Phase three: An online questionnaire survey with Gender Focal Point (GFPs) in departments/ministries to study the movement of the policy at implementation level.

4. Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to an interview because you have experience and knowledge as well as play a key part in the movement of gender mainstreaming policy at international and/or national and/or implementation levels.

5. What will the interview involve?

The researcher will arrange to meet at your convenient time and place. In case it is not possible to arrange an interview in person for example, if an interviewee does not reside in Bangkok, a video interview via Skype will be employed.

The interview questions will ask you about your perspective on these issues: (1) the interpretation of the gender mainstreaming policy; (2) the transfer and translation process of the policy; (3) facilitators, constraints and gaps of the movement of this policy; and (4) recommendations for further development of the transfer and translation of the gender mainstreaming policy.

The interviews will last for between 45 - 60 minutes. The interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed at a later date. The researcher may also take some notes during the interview. Prior to beginning the interview, you will be asked to consent to taking part in the study, and sign a consent form.

6. How will the interview data be used, stored and achieved?

The collected data and excerpt from the transcript will be used anonymously in study reports/publications and the researcher's PhD thesis. The anonymous audio recording and transcript of the interview data will be stored for 20 years within a secure facility at the University of Bristol accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998. The data will be achieved in the University's Research Data Repository. Future uses of the data by other researchers are based on ethical practices.

7. Will my interview be confidential and anonymous?

Your interview will be conducted and your personal data treated confidentially. Your identity will be protected by using a number to cover your identification.

8. What happens if I do not take part?

Once you have read and understood this information sheet, you can decide to take part voluntarily. You also have the right to withdraw from the process at any stage until the completion of analysis (expected end of 2017).

9. How will my participation benefit for?

Your interview will contribute to a study on the movement of the gender mainstreaming policy from international level to Thailand. This will help to explore the process of policy movement, identify gaps, and suggest further development of the movement of this policy. Although it cannot be assured, this study may contribute to the development of the transfer and translation of gender mainstreaming policy from international level to Thailand.

10. How will this research be disseminated?

The final thesis will be submitted to the University of Bristol (anticipated 2019) and the Office of the Civil Servant Commissions as the funder. The summary of the thesis will be written up separately to DWF as the affiliation of the researcher. The result of the research will be presented to Thailand's national committees or sub-committees on women and gender equality, which might contribute to the development of the gender mainstreaming policy. Additionally, an article for publication and a conference will be written.

11.Who can I contact about the research?

Further information can be requested to the researcher at any point in the following details:

Researcher: Perada Phumessawatdi
pp1828@bristol.ac.uk

Any concerns or complaints about the research should be directed to:

Supervisors: Professor Sarah Payne,
Professor in Health Policy and Gender
Centre for Research in Health and Social Care
sarah.payne@bristol.ac.uk

Dr. Patricia Kennett
Reader in School for Policy Studies
Centre for Urban and Public Policy Research
p.kennett@bristol.ac.uk

School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol
8 Priory Road, Bristol, BS8 1TZ Tel: 0117 9546788

Appendix 10 Consent form

School for Policy Studies

CONSENT FORM

The Study: Policy Transfer and Translation: The Movement of UN Gender Mainstreaming Policy to Thailand

Please read and indicate your agreement to the following questions

1. I have read the Participant Information Sheet and wish to participate in the above named project. ☐
2. I understand that taking part in the study will include being interviewed and audio recorded. ☐
3. I agree for the researcher to take notes during the interviews and for a transcript to be made. ☐
4. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any point up until the data analysis is completed. ☐
5. I understand that date and information collected will be used anonymously in study reports/publications and the researcher's PhD thesis. ☐
6. I also understand that the anonymised information will be stored for 20 years within a secure facility in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998 and will remain accessible for other researchers to access for the purpose of ethically conducted research in the future. ☐

Participant's name ……
Signature ……..Date…….

Researcher' name Ms. Perada Phumessawatdi
Signature…….. ……..Date …….....